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11  
MOS/POL/125/1/90

(VO)-I

10.12.15

PARLIAMENT QUESTIONS

PPS ON DISAPPEARANCE OF

NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDR BOSE

~~DECLASSIFIED~~

Corr.

Pholtagar 11/12/15  
Page no 1-3567  
S. No 1-64  
Ministry of External Affairs  
New Delhi

Later Ref

VOI/MB/POL/303/2/93

keep 15/12/15



Pl. see

(125/1/90 - P+ File

on Justice Mukherjee Commission  
of Enquiry on S.C. Bose)



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MOS/POL/125/1/90

(VO)-I

Mr. Ref.

PARLIAMENT QUESTIONS

PPS ON DISAPPEARANCE OF

NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRER BOSE

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Chatterjee 12/15

Page 1-358  
1-64

Later Ref

VOI/MB/PO2/303/2/92

Pl. see  
(125/1/90 . Pr File  
on Justice Mukherjee Commission  
of Enquiry on S.C. Bose)



32/US/EE/01  
-14/3

JUSTICE MUKHERJEE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY  
FOR INQUIRY INTO THE ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCE OF  
NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.  
'B' Block, (Third Floor)  
11/A Mirza Ghalib Street, Calcutta 700 087

Phone:

Chairman -- 216-2836  
Secretary -- 216-2767  
Officer on Special Duty -- 216-2765  
Office -- 216-2766/68

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REGISTERED WITH A/D.

No. JMCI/ 8/2000/591

Calcutta, dated, the 1st March, 2001

From : Shri P.K. Sengupta, WBHJS (Retd.)  
Secretary.

To : The Secretary,  
Ministry of External Affairs,,  
South Block,  
Government of India,  
New Delhi - 110001.

S i r,

I am directed to request you to get the present whereabouts for the following persons through our Embassy in Russia and communicate the same, if available, to the Commission as quickly as possible since those persons appear to the Commission to be relevant witnesses.

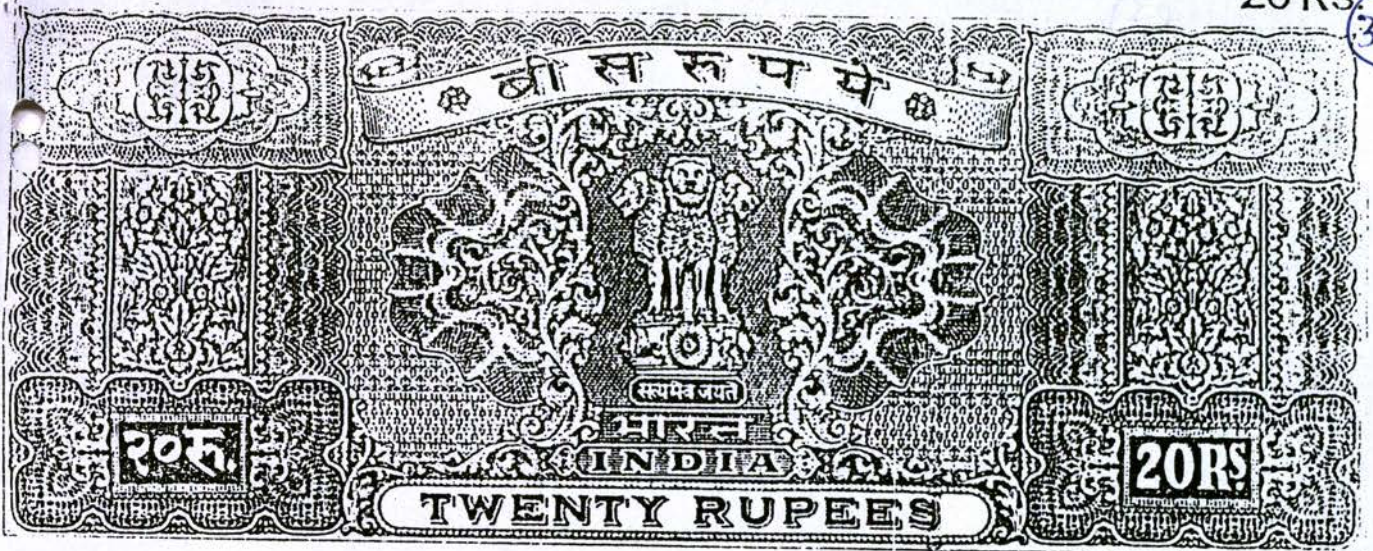
Sl.	Name	Last known address	Source of address
1)	Mr. Nikhil Chattopadhyay alias Nikhil Dasgupta son of Virendra Nath Chattopadhyay	Leningrad	Dossiers in the Office of the KGB at Moscow and/or St. Petersburg.
2)	Vitali Moroz	--	ASSOCIATED CHEKA (presently known as KGB at Moscow and/or St. Petersberg.) could provide more details about him.
3)	Mr. Chandran	He allegedly fled to Moscow from Kerala since he was an accused in a murder case.	Mr. Nikhil Chattopadhy alias Nikhil Dasgupta
4)	Mrs. Tatiana wife of Mr. Nikhil Chattopadhyay alias Nikhil Dasgupta	Leningrad	--

The names of the above-named persons have transpired from the affidavit sworn and filed before the Commission by Shri Narendra Nath Sindkar, a copy whereof is enclosed for your information and necessary action.

Yours faithfully,  
*P.K. Sengupta*  
(P.K. Sengupta)  
Secretary

Enclo : As stated (Six sheets)





नं. ६०२२, २७  
 तारीख ३१-१२-२०००  
 मास नवंबर  
 पता नवमाला अपार्टमेंट  
 नं. २०६  
 ए. २०६  
 ए. २०६



## AFFIDAVIT

I, Shri. NARENDRANATH SINDKAR, Son of Shri. MARTAND BALWANT SINDKAR, Aged about - 72 Yrs., Residing at - Bldg. No. 8, Flat No. - 238, MHADA Colony, Near Alankar Police Chowky, Hingne, Pune - 411 052, by Occupation - Pensioner, Writer & Journalist, do hereby solemnly verify as follows :

- 1) I am the petitioner of this written statement.
- 2) I swear and affirm this Affidavit.
- 3) I verify that the Statements made in paragraph 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 13 of the following petition are true to my knowledge and those in other paragraphs are from information received and believed to be true to me.





Sworn before me by the deponent who is identified to my satisfaction by Shri. PRASAD TONBE, A Publisher in Pune, that affidavit has been read out in full to the deponent who has signed it after admitting it to the correct on this day of 1<sup>st</sup> February 2000.

1. I was in Moscow from 10.02.1966 to 14.03.1991. I was selected for the post of Announcer at 'Radio Moscow' by Government of India (A.I.R.) and personnel from the Soviet Embassy, Delhi. During my 26 years of stay in the erstwhile USSR, I came in close contact with a number of Indian Communists (C.P.I.) who were directly recruited by the Soviet Govt. to work as Announcers on Radio Moscow.
2. I was and am a sincere admirer of the Late Veer Savarkar. When Savarkar passed away on February 26, 1966, I was deeply grieved and wanted to pay homage to the memory of this outstanding firebrand freedom fighter.
3. One Sarla Shevade who had secured appointment with Radio Moscow thanks to the influence in her favour from the late Comrade Dange. Mrs. Sarla Shevade pooh poohed my suggestion saying that Savarkar, according to the Soviet Communists, was a reactionary and if I made such a suggestion I would be sent back to India by the next available plane.
4. I was, however, fortunate to get acquainted with Comrade Nikhil Chattopadhyaya, son of the late Virendranath Chattopadhyaya during one of the friendly gathering in MOSCOW.

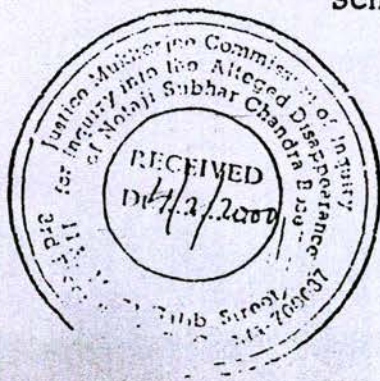
... 3





5. Nauni Bhowmick, who was working with the Progress Publishing House as translator in the Bengali Section was also very friendly with me.
6. Comrade Chandran who had fled to MOSCOW from Kerala since he was an accused in a murder case was extremely close friend of mine and who discussed frankly the various subjects in Politics which were otherwise not accessible to a common man. All these Communists obliged me whenever I sought their help.
7. Nikhil Chattopadhyaya's father Virendranath Chattopadhyaya who had arrived in the Soviet Union immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution.
8. I am not quite sure if Nikhil Chattopadhyaya was the son of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya borne to him by his American wife Agnes Smedley who had come into close contact with him in the Berlin Group and later married him or his another Russian wife Larisa who had also met him <sup>ei</sup> ~~heather~~ in England, Paris or Sweden since he was moving from place to place.
9. Nikhil Chattopadhyaya however became a trusted Comrade of the Soviet Communists. He did not frequently mix with the CPI Members in MOSCOW perhaps due to their internal feuds, but wield very good influence in higher echelons of the Soviet and Indian Communists Leaders. He worked as interpreter for Netaji Subhashchandra Bose when he was on his way to Berlin. One Vitali Moroz also accompanied him, when Subhashchandra met Her Von Schulenberg the German Ambassador in MOSCOW.

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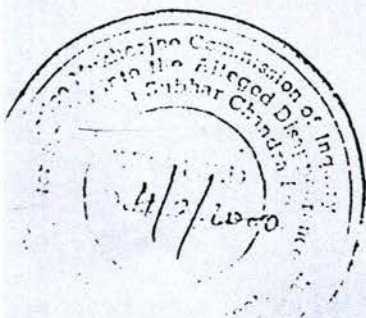


Vitali Moroz later joined CHEKA (The earlier name of KGB) and rose to high office in KGB. Nikhil Chattopadhyaya was also an active member of the International Peace Committee headed by Ramesh Chandra.

10. Nikhil Chattopadhyaya was an admirer of Savarkar like his father, who had met Savarkar several times in London and Paris. Nikhilda, as we called him, cheered my drooping spirits saying that other C.P.I. members were more bookish than pragmatic. He however made an exception to the rule of Radheshyam Dubey another veteran and sincere Communist who enjoyed Nikhilda's favour.

11. When I went to him on 10<sup>th</sup> March, since I came to know the news about the death of Vir Savarkar on that day. When I narrated the story of my conversation with Sarla Shevade and became emotional Nikhilda cheered me up ironically saying that when some Indian leaders had killed their own colleagues - not physically but morally and / or by character assassination or by wreaking political revenge. During the course of our conversation he accused Nehru of forcing Netaji Subhash Chandra to exile in the Soviet Russia. It was an exile because Netaji feared that he would be declared a war criminal with the connivance of Nehru. On his arrival in the then USSR via Manchuria, Stalin, Molotov Beria and Voroshilov consulted with the Indologists who in their turn advised Stalin to consult Krishna Menon in London through the Soviet Embassy. Krishna Menon categorically asserted in favour of Nehru and urged Stalin not to divulge the information since

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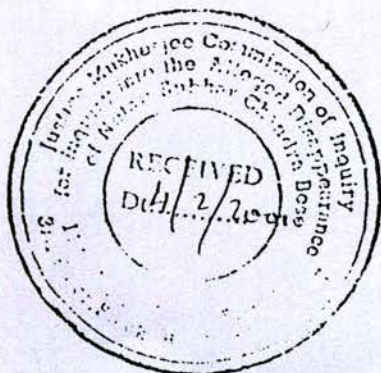




Nehru was about to become the Prime Minister and who would follow a strict pro-Soviet policy. Since, the USSR was left with no allies in Asia except Chiang-Kai Shek with whom the Soviet Govt. had made a treaty in November 15, 1945 to withdraw Soviet troops and handover a territory to China. Although the USSR was in a dilemma they preferred Nehru to Netaji Subhas Chandra in order to avoid confrontation with other allied nations.

12. The statement made by Nikhilda literally shocked me since I had read in newspapers that Netaji died in the air crash as reported by a private media of Japan.
13. I was and am a profound admirer of Netaji and therefore pressed Nikhilda to enlighten me more on the subject.
14. Nikhilda said he would let me know about Netaji step by step through Comrade Chandran. He occasionally came to MOSCOW since he was living in Leningrad, where he was reportedly born and had married to one Tatiana, a Russian lady, who was closely associated with K.G.B.
15. It was more or less an open secret that the Communist Party card holders in MOSCOW were working more or less as informers to the Soviet Communist Party and Government. Nikhilda, though envied by some of the C.P.I. Members was a trusted Comrade of the Soviet Communist and also the high ranking C.P.I. leaders, since he provided most valuable information to the Soviet authorities through contacts both in India, Germany & U.S.A.

... 6





16. Since Nikhilda was a keen admirer of Netaji, he pressed his wife Tatiana to arrange a meeting Netaji. The meeting took place in the city OMSK on August 16, 1968 and was reported to me by Comrade Chandran, who as mentioned above was giving me information as advised by Nikhilda.
17. Incidentally, Nikhil Chattopadhyaya was also known as Nikhil Dasgupta. More details about Nikhil Chattopadhyaya or Nikhil Dasgupta and the Soviet K.G.B. Agent Vitali Moroz could be found in the dossiers in the K.G.B. Office at MOSCOW and / or in St. Petersburg.
18. Today I am 72 yrs. old and keeping a frail health since I am a heart patient and I am not sure how many more years there are for me to live. I was therefore urged to pass on whatever information I had to my country in the interest of my motherland. I therefore wrote in 1995 about all these facts in my novelette 'Kaidi' (Prisoner) published in Diwali special number of "Satyagrahi" a Marathi Monthly.

*Narendra Sindrkar*  
(NARENDRA SINDKAR)



BEFORE ME

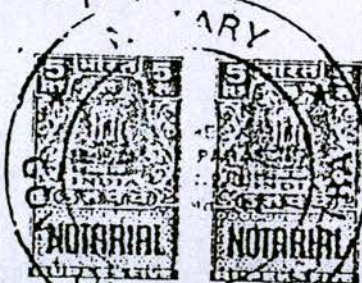
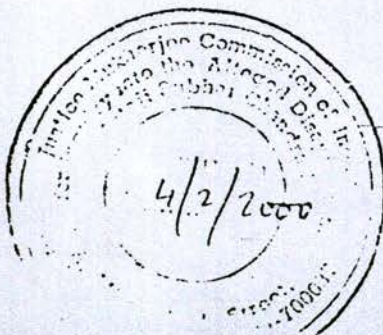
*A.A. Parasnis*

Mrs. ANITA PARASNIS  
NOTARY, STATE OF MAHARASHTRA  
PUNE, REGD. No. 792

Noted & Registered at  
Sr. No. P - 17

4/2/2000

2/2/2000





# It's final: Netaji died in '45 crash

## Secret British documents give eyewitness account

BY SUNEEL SINHA

London, July 15: Secret intelligence documents recently declassified by the British government reveal an eyewitness account from a Japanese medical captain who told a British officer acting under Military Intelligence orders that he saw Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose die of his injuries after the aircraft taking him from Formosa to Manchuria crashed shortly after

take off on August 18, 1945.

Author Patrick French, whose new book *Liberty Or Death, India's Journey To Independence And Division* quotes secret intelligence files being recatalogued at present, believes they "prove conclusively" that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was killed in 1945.

Inconclusive evidence of the crash baffled the British and

even Lord Wavell, then Viceroy of India, doubted it when news first filtered through to him because Netaji's death had been twice reported in the past, both

times incorrectly. It was then that Indian Political Intelligence, a shadowy organisation that officially did not exist but was responsible for Imperial counterintelligence and which, after 1923, functioned as MI5's India-Burma

section while still a separate entity, decided to investigate the matter. They put a Captain Turner of the War Crimes Liaison Section on the job and he tracked down Captain (medical) Taneyoshi Yoshimi, then interned in Stanley Gaol.

Captain Taneyoshi was the last person to have seen Netaji alive after he took off from Formosa, three days after Japan's Imperial Army signed an unconditional

### SPOTLIGHT

■ Turn to Page 2

## Netaji died in 1945 crash

■ Continued from Page 1

surrender on August 15, 1945. "I personally cleaned his injuries with oils and dressed them. He was suffering from extensive burns over the whole of his body, though the most serious were those on his head, chest and thighs..." Patrick French's new book quotes Captain Taneyoshi as told to Captain Turner in file OIOC POL(S) 68/47. "During the first four hours he was semi-conscious... He murmured, and muttered in his state of coma, but never regained consciousness. At about 2300 hours he died... I injected Formalin into the body, and also had the coffin partly filled with lime," Captain Taneyoshi was quoted telling Captain Turner. The body was then cremated and the ashes now rest in a golden casket at the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo.

In high-ranking British intelligence circles, the spooks were satisfied. Captain Turner's investigation had put to rest elaborate theories that Netaji had survived the crash and fled to Russia. One such theory was that Netaji had been imprisoned by the Russians and then killed in the former USSR. Russia recently opened its defence ministry's secret military archives and confirmed in March, through a Russian defence ministry letter to an Indian professor, Joychandra Singh, who has been investigating the issue for the past 13 years, that it had no records of either the arrest or killing of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

According to a recent report, in 1984, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, then India's external affairs minister under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, had written to Prof. Joychandra Singh asking him to continue his investigations to end the controversy. "I fully agree with you that there should be a national consensus on the question [of bringing home the remains of Netaji from the Renkoji Temple] before the Government of India takes a formal decision to avoid a controversy at a later stage," the letter read.

The article has been copied from Asian Age of July 16, 1997  
received by bag. May pl. see. 4/5/8

Counsellor (Pol.)

Anand

Aug 5/8

NGO.



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### Political Press Briefs

Date: 16 July. 1997 Update time: 9:30  
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Business

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### The Times Of India

## MARAN MEETS GUJRAL, CRISIS IN UF LIKELY TO BLOW OVER

The immediate threat to the United Front (UF) government appeared to recede a bit after Industry Minister and senior Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham (DMK) functionary Murasoli Maran met Prime Minister Gujral Tuesday morning. The news of Bihar Chief Minister Laloo Prasad Yadav's winning the vote of confidence by a comfortable margin did not materially alter the demand for his won resignation as chief minister even among his non-Rashtriya Janata Dal supporters. Meanwhile, former Prime Minister Deve Gowda commented there was no threat to the Gujral government as long as the Congress party continued its support to the government.

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### The Hindustan Times

## LALOO WINS TRUST VOTE WITHOUT HITCH

The Laloo Yadav government in Bihar state Tuesday won a trust vote amid unruly scenes securing 168 votes to nil in the 324 member strong state assembly. The Congress party abstained from voting. The opposition parties including the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Janata Dal party boycotted the voting. This is the second time Laloo Yadav won a vote of

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confidence in the state assembly. Those who voted the confidence motion include 136 members of the Rashtriya Janata Dal party recently formed by Laloo Yadav, 16 members of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM-S) party, two of the JMM (Mardi) party one member belonging to the Bahujan Samaj Party and 13 independent members.

## NOTIFICATION ISSUED FOR VICE PRESIDENTIAL POLL

The Election commission Tuesday issued notification for the 11th vice presidential election scheduling the poll for August 18. Four independent candidates filed their nomination papers soon after. Sources said that none of the nomination papers met the eligibility criteria laid down for a vice presidential candidate and would therefore be rejected at the time of scrutiny. While one candidate deposited the mandatory 15,000 rupees, none of the four furnished the other mandatory requirements - a signed list of 20 promisors and another 20 seconders from among the members of the electoral college.

## *The Asian Age*

### NETAJI DIED IN 1945 CRASH

Secret intelligence documents recently declassified by the British government reveals Netaji Subash Chandra Bose died of injuries he suffered after the aircraft that was carrying him to Manchuria from Formosa crashed on August 18, 1945. Author Patrick French who quotes declassified secret intelligence files believes they prove conclusively that Bose was killed in 1945. The documents reveal an eyewitness account of a Japanese medical captain who told a British officer acting under Military Intelligence orders that he saw Netaji Subash Chandra Bose die of his injuries after the air crash.

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confidence in the state assembly. Those who voted the confidence motion include 136 members of the Rashtriya Janata Dal party recently formed by Laloo Yadav, 16 members of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM-S) party, two of the JMM (Mardi) party one member belonging to the Bahujan Samaj Party and 13 independent members.

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A-keed in  
on 16/7  
17/7





M. Ganapathi  
Minister (Pol)  
Tel. 2001239

242/18/97  
29-4-97

63

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Polye  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

125/1/98 (345)

No.Mos/M(P)/230/97

April 23, 1997

Dear Ajai,

Kindly refer to my fax of December 6, 1996 regarding Shri L. Joychandra Singh and his research on Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. Shri Joychandra Singh had recently written to the Military Wing of this Embassy. It was felt that it would be appropriate if Shri Singh were to correspond through the MEA to avoid any complications and misunderstandings. Copies of the relevant communications from the MA's office in this regard are enclosed.

2. Separately, Shri Joychandra Singh had also addressed the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. In response, the Directorate for Foreign Relations of the MOD has sent us a letter mentioning that the MOD Archives has no additional data on the fate of Netaji besides the information conveyed by them in October 1996. A copy of the MOD's letter along with its English translation is enclosed. Also enclosed is a copy of the internal note on the same subject for your information. Could I request that US(EE) kindly forward the Russian MOD's letter to Shri Joychandra Singh?

Warm regards

Yours sincerely,

(M. Ganapathi)

Shri Ajai Malhotra,  
Joint Secretary (EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

my kin to re.

f 21/4

4/25/4

Isu

vg



(62) (344)

Embassy of India  
Moscow


Ambassador might recall that one Shri L. Joychandra Singh had written to the Director, Central Archives of the Russian Ministry of Defence, mentioning that he was carrying out a research on the death of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and that he wanted some details in this regard. Shri Singh had specifically asked whether it was a fact that Netaji had died at a plane crash at Taipei on August 18, 1945, whether the USSR Army had arrested him at Taipei or not, etc? In its response No.1843 dated October 28, 1996, the Directorate of Foreign Relations of the MOD had forwarded letter No.2/22672 dated October 15, 1996 from the Central Archives of the MOD mentioning that there were no records available with the Archives on the questions raised by Shri Singh.

2. Subsequently, Shri Singh had again approached the Archives on November 30, 1996 pointing out that there were many rumours in India and questioned whether Stalin had killed Netaji in Russian custody. In their response dated March 20, 1997, the MOD have informed us that the Archives has no additional data on the fate of Netaji besides the information conveyed by them in October 1996.

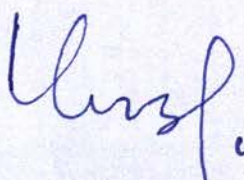
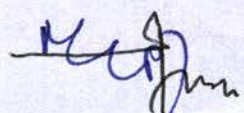
3. As Shri Singh has been corresponding with the Military Wing of the Embassy, we had asked them to inform Shri Singh to address all his future correspondence to JS(EE), MEA. This was primarily done to avoid any complications and misunderstandings.

4. If approved, we could send the latest correspondence from the MOD to JS(EE), asking him to inform Shri Joychandra Singh of the contents of this letter.

May please see.

  
(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)  
23.4.1997

Ambassador



Directorate of Foreign Relations  
Ministry of Defence of the  
Russian Federation

March 20, 1997

N 547

343  
DLE Foreign Relations  
Note verbale  
22/3/97  
to MA

The Directorate of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to you and has the honour to forward herewith the letter of Mr. L. Joychandra Singh addressed a second time to the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation.

In reply to this repeated query, the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence (CAMD) of the Russian Federation has pointed out that there is no other data relating to the fate of Subhash Chandra Bose besides the information conveyed to you vide letter No.1843 dated October 28, 1996 (enclosing No.2/22672 of the CAMD).

We request you to kindly inform Mr. L. Joychandra Singh of the above reply from the Archives.

The Directorate of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Military Wing of the Embassy of India in Moscow the assurances of its highest consideration.

Military Attache in the  
Embassy of the Republic of India  
in the Russian Federation

Brig. D. Singh



УПРАВЛЕНИЕ  
ВНЕШНИХ СНОШЕНИЙ

Министерства обороны  
Российской Федерации

342

„20“ марта 1997 г.

№ 544

Москва, Г-19, Крестовоздвиженский пер., 2

Управление внешних сношений Министерства обороны Российской Федерации свидетельствует Вам свое уважение и имеет честь направить письмо господина Л.Джойчандра Сингха, поступившее в Центральный архив МО РФ вторично.

Центральный архив МО РФ на повторный запрос сообщил, что другими сведениями о судьбе Субаша Чандра Боса, кроме сообщенных в Ваш адрес 28 октября 1996 г. за № 1843 (№ 2/22672 ЦАМО РФ) не располагает.

Прошу не отказать в любезности довести содержание ответа архива до господина Л.Джойчандра Сингха.

Управление внешних сношений МО РФ пользуется настоящим случаем чтобы возобновить Аппарату Военного Атташе при посольстве Индии в Москве свои уверения в весьма глубоком уважении.

ВОЕННОМУ АТТАШЕ ПРИ ПОСОЛЬСТВЕ  
РЕСПУБЛИКИ ИНДИЯ В РОССИЙСКОЙ  
ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

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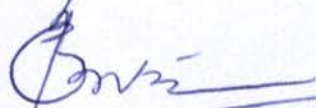


09 Apr 97

MILITARY WING

RESEARCH ON THE DEATH OF MR SUBASH CHANGRA BOSE,  
SUPREME COMMANDER OF INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY (INA)

1. Further to our Note No MA/118/2/I-135 dated 07 Mar 97.
2. A reply received from Foreign Relations Department, Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation vide their letter No 547 dated 20 Mar 97 alongwith original letter dated 13 Jan 97 of Mr L Joychandra Singh on the subject, is enclosed herewith for your further action, please

  
(Osman Contractor)  
Colonel  
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УПРАВЛЕНИЕ  
ВНЕШНИХ СНОШЕНИЙ

Министерства обороны  
Российской Федерации

„20“ марта 1997 г.

№ 547

Москва, Г-19, Крестовоздвиженский пер., 2

Управление внешних сношений Министерства обороны Российской Федерации свидетельствует Вам свое уважение и имеет честь направить письмо господина Л.Джойчандра Сингха, поступившее в Центральный архив МО РФ вторично.

Центральный архив МО РФ на повторный запрос сообщил, что другими сведениями о судьбе Субаша Чандра Боса, кроме сообщенных в Ваш адрес 28 октября 1996 г. за № I843 (№ 2/22672 ЦАМО РФ) не располагает.

Прошу не отказать в любезности довести содержание ответа архива до господина Л.Джойчандра Сингха.

Управление внешних сношений МО РФ пользуется настоящим случаем чтобы возобновить Аппарату Военного Атташе при посольстве Индии в Москве свои уверения в весьма глубоком уважении.

ВОЕННОМУ АТТАШЕ ПРИ ПОСОЛЬСТВЕ  
РЕСПУБЛИКИ ИНДИЯ В РОССИЙСКОЙ  
ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

бригадиру Д.Сингху



L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

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0091—385—222936

0091—385—220471

Phone

{ 220147 [o]  
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Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

Imphal 13 January 1997.

To  
The Chief of Central Archives,  
Ministry of Defence,  
Russian Federation  
City Podolsh  
District: Moscovskaya,  
Street: Kirova, House No. 74  
Russia - I4I000

VERY IMPORTANT  
FOR INDIA

Subject:- Mr. Subash Chandra Bose of India.

Sir,

Pardon me as requesting you again for a clarification as some people in India still believed that Mr. Subash Chandra Bose was arrested by Russian Army after his Plane crash at Taiphei in 1945 and killed him in Russia.

I will be very indebted to you if you kindly consider to give a clarification whether Mr. Subash Chandra Bose had been arrested by Russian Army in 1945 and killed him in Russia or not ?

Yours faithfully,

( L. Joychandra Singh )

Субаш Чандра Босе

K

337



L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

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338

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PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

Imphal 30 Nov. 1996.

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The Chief of Central Archives,  
Ministry of Defence  
Russian Federation  
City - Podolsk  
District: Moscovskaya  
Street: Kirova, House No. 74  
Russia - I4I000

CORX

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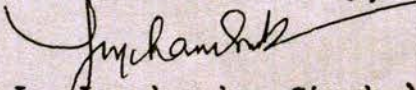
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# UNSOLVED MYSTERY

## Did Stalin Harbour Netaji?

By SAMAR GUHA

**B**ORIS Yeltsin is now the supreme champion of freedom and democracy in Russia. He is naturally expected to be free from all Stalinist inhibitions and ruthless secrecy. The Indian people will now earnestly hope that the new Russian President will tell the Indian people what Russia knows about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose — the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom.

What really happened to Netaji still remains a mystery. The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while setting up the second inquiry commission under Justice Khosla. The Khosla Commission's conclusions have also been rejected by the Morarji Desai Government. In his statement in the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978, the then Prime Minister observed: "Some contemporary records have been available. In the light of doubts and contradictions and those records, the Government finds it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions (of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission) are decisive". If so, then what ultimately happened to Netaji?

After the fall of Japan in August 1945, Netaji, in all probability, went to Russia. This is not just a sentimental belief or mere conjecture. Subhas Chandra Bose successfully managed to enter Russian territory via Manchuria under the camouflage of the report of his aircrash death on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, now Taipei, in Taiwan. There is enough circumstantial evidence, documentary reports and other auxiliary testimonials to justify this conclusion.

### VERY FRIENDLY

Bose's political attitude towards Russia was always very friendly. Indeed, after his escape from India, Bose planned to go to Stalin's Russia. But Soviet hesitation at a very critical moment forced him to go to Hitler's Germany. Although tactically Bose allied himself with the Axis Powers, yet he never made any adverse remark or acted at anytime against the Soviet Union while waging his campaign against the British Raj. He even dared, while sitting in the very den of Hitler, to make strong comments, and that too in writing, against the 1941 Nazi invasion of the USSR.

After reaching South-east Asia, Bose maintained secret political links with Jacob Malik, the then Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. Every senior member of Netaji's Government told the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission that after the fall of Germany, Netaji's emissary contacted Malik. But what actually transpired between them is not known. Major-General Isoda, the chief of the Hikari Kikan, the organization that liaised between the Government of Japan and the set-up of Netaji, and all other important INA witnesses, except Colonel Habibur Rahman, categorically told both the committee and commission that after Japan's defeat, Netaji's destination was the Soviet Union.

In this regard the most vital piece of information was given to Nehru's emissary, Mr Iyer, by Colonel Tada, who was entrusted by F. M. Terauchi, the Japanese chief of the S.-E. Command at Saigon, to plan and execute "Chandra Bose's" escape to the Soviet Union. The Shah Nawaz Committee could not record Col. Tada's evidence. Nehru secretly sent Mr Iyer, a former Propaganda Minister of Netaji's Government, in 1957 to ascertain the exact plan of Netaji.

In his report to Nehru, Iyer noted the version of Colonel Tada: "When Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Kaka Bose to reach Russian territory. It was arranged that 'Chandra Bose' would fly in a plane in which General Shedei was going (who was put in charge of the Manchurian Front after Russia declared war against

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A portion of Mountbatten's Diary was submitted before the Shah Nawaz Committee, in which it has been recorded that Mountbatten received secret communication from Chungking after the Japanese broadcast of Bose's death. It stated: "The report of Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) posted in China informed Mountbatten by telegram on October 17, 1945 ... When Bose was preparing to leave Saigon with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family ... DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there".

Another report by British Intelligence submitted to the Wavell Government in early 1946 noted: "There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. The information alleges Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are also those who were aware of this". This report is also from the Government files placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee.

Shyam Lal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Asaf Ali, then working as secretary to the INA Defence Council, told the Khosla Commission that on December 26 or 27, 1945, he was asked by Nehru in the residence of Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which said: "Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon. Bose, along with General Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory. The jeep returned after about three hours". Nehru sent a copy of this letter with his own comments to the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, which was also typed by Jain.

British Intelligence made another very vital report to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that "on 7th January, 1946, Pravda denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before this, however, Ghilazi Malang had been in touch with Bose in Russia and in December a report said that the Governor of Afgan province khost has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that Bose was in Moscow ... Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul in Teheran, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia". (All these reports are from "Secret Government Files" submitted to the Khosla Commission).

However, the most startling revelation came from the report of R. F. Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy's Council in 1945. After discussing a number of alternatives on how to deal with Bose, Mudie concluded in his long report to Lord Wavell: "In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him (Bose) where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of course, be welcomed by the Russians". Mr Mudie's report was sent to Attlee

and it was discussed and approved by the British Cabinet.

The whole report submitted by Mudie was published after 30 years, in 1975, along with other documents in "The Transfer of Power". It so positively asserted the fact of Bose's going to the Soviet Union after the fake report of his death that it ought to have provoked the Indian Government to inquire from the USSR the exact truth behind the British report of Bose's escape to Russia after the end of World War II. But New Delhi remained insensitively indifferent.

While returning from Moscow after completing her term as the Indian Ambassador, Vijaylakshmi Pandit told reporters at Bombay airport that she would reveal to the Indian people something very sensational. The Press interpreted this as her personal knowledge about Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union. But after meeting Nehru in Delhi she completely sealed her lips. Again, when she refused to appear before the Khosla Commission, the commission enquired of her in writing whether she knew anything about Bose's presence in the Soviet Union. Mrs Pandit avoided a direct answer by saying: "I have not met Subhas Babu after 1940".

The historian R. C. Majumdar told Mr Morarji Desai, when the latter was India's Prime Minister, that Dr Radhakrishnan had informed his friend Saroj Das of Calcutta University that he came to know that Bose had been kept in captivity in the USSR by Stalin. Dr Majumdar communicated this information to others also and I came to know about it both from Morarjibhai and the historian himself.

### AT HEART

Dr Bhairab Bhattacharya, an Indian scientist in Princeton, found in the university archives a letter addressed to the American journalist, Louis Fischer, in 1946 by Khurshed Ben, one of the most trusted inmates of the Wardha Gandhi Ashram. In her letter, she asked Fischer to prevail upon the U.S. President for exerting pressure on the British Government to concede immediately freedom to India. She added: "At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also, (if) Russia, for propaganda purposes, declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India".

This letter corroborates Gandhiji's knowledge about Netaji's going to the Soviet Union and it also explains why Gandhiji repeatedly said in 1946: "I believe Subhas is alive". Even after the Red Fort Trial of INA men in 1946, he told Colonel Habibur Rahman: "Habib, whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive". All the statements of Gandhiji indirectly confirmed British Intelligence reports to Lord Wavell that Gandhiji was aware of Bose's presence in the USSR.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India, I met him at Rashtrapati Bhavan on November 29, 1973, as leader of the Socialist Party in the Lok Sabha and presented a three-page memorandum in which was outlined the reasons why India believed that Bose was given shelter by Stalin after he escaped to Siberia on August 23, 1945. A request was made that Moscow reveal all the facts about Netaji. But no reply was received either from Delhi or Moscow. After Mr Gorbachov came to power, another letter was sent to him on the same subject, which too went unanswered.

Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists, would it be too much to expect a leader like Mr Yeltsin to reveal all the facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, which may lie buried in the KGB files?



5

From :—

L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH  
PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS

Imphal—795001

Manipur  
INDIA

(23)



MA/118/2/I-135

59

07 March 97

MILITARY WING

RESEARCH ON THE DEATH OF MR SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE,  
SUPREME COMMANDER OF INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY (INA)

1. Refer to our Note No MA/118/2/127/I dated 26 Dec 96 and teleconversation between Lt Col AK Sahni, AMA (GS) and Minister (Political) on the subject.
2. Please find enclosed a letter received from Mr L Joychandra Singh for your further necessary action.

(AK Sahni)  
Lt Col  
AMA (GS)

Minister (political)

Copy to :-

Mr L Joychandra Singh  
Prajatantra Buildings  
Imphal, Manipur

1. Please refer to your letter dated 13 Jan 97.
2. You are requested to address your future correspondence on the subject to Joint Secretary (East Europe), South Block, MEA, New Delhi -110011.

Pr	Bn
136	127
137	134



L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax, NO.— 0091—385—220444, Prajatantra Imphal

0091—385—222936

0091—385—220471

Phone { 221538 [o]  
220471 [R] (134)

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Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

Imphal 13 January 1997.

Lt Col A.K. Sahni  
AMA (GS)  
Military Attache  
Embassy of India,  
6-8, Ulitsa Obukha,  
Moscow  
Russia.

**VERY IMPORTANT  
FOR INDIA**

Subject:- Mr. Subash Chandra Bose of India - regarding  
Russia etc.

Sir,

Would you kindly refer to my letter dated 1st  
December 1996.

There is still controversy in India about the  
reported death of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. Some people  
believed that he went to Russia after Plane crash in 1945 at  
Taiphei and was killed under the order of Stalin of Russia.

Grateful if you kindly get a clarification from the  
Chief of Central Archives, Ministry of Defence, Russian  
Federation whether Mr. Subash Chandra Bose was arrested by  
Russian Army in 1945 or not ?

This information is very important in my research.

I seek your kind co-operation and send me a word  
about it.

Yours faithfully,

*L. Joychandra Singh*  
( L. Joychandra Singh )

FL / DL  
135 / 127  
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YCHANDRA SINGH

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0091—385—222936  
0091—385—220471

Phone { 220147 [o]  
221538 [o]  
220471 [R]

Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

1st. December 1996.

To  
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Lt. Col  
AMA (GS)  
Military Attache  
Embassy of India,  
6-8, Ulitsa Obukha  
Moscow  
Rossia.

COPY

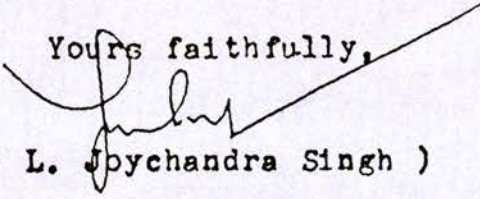
Sir,

This is in continuence of my letter dated 30 Nov.1996  
addressed to you.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter dated  
30 Nov. 1996 addressed to the Chief of Central Archives,  
Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation.

I shall be very grateful, if you kindly consider to  
get a reply from them and send it to me. I have been doing this  
Research on the request of Ministry of External Affairs,  
Government of India, New Delhi since 1984.

Yours faithfully,

  
( L. Joychandra Singh )



CHANDRA SINGH

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0091—385—222936  
0091—385—220471

Phone

333  
{ 220147 [o]  
221538 [o]  
220471 [R]

Tclc — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MAMPUR, INDIA.

Imphal 30 Nov. 1996.

To  
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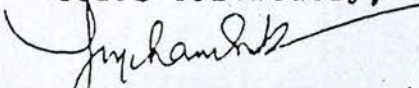
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CRASH

CRASH

CRASH

FAX

58

From: Indembassy Moscow  
To : Foreign New Delhi

Joint Secretary (EE) from Minister (Pol)

A solemn ceremony was held today, January 23, 1997 in the Institute of Oriental Studies to mark the birth anniversary of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. The Director of the Institute, Academician Rybakov, the Director of the Centre for Indian Studies Prof. Kutsenkov, representatives from the Foreign Office and many distinguished scientists participated in the scientific conference. Ambassador was also present. Glowing tributes were paid to the character, personality and activities to Netaji during the conference.

2. Opening the function, Prof. Kutsenkov spoke on Netaji's role in India's freedom struggle, his personality and his leadership abilities which, in his words, have attracted the attention of many a historian and writers. In his remarks, Academician Rybakov while welcoming the participants underlined the fact that the organisation of the function in the Conference Hall of the Institute was in itself significant. This characterised the importance and the considerable and serious interest among Russian research scholars on the life and personality of Netaji. He also noted that the name of Netaji always evoked an emotional reaction and this was all the more evident by the association of many myths and legends with his name. He was indeed a legendary figure.

3. In his speech, Ambassador congratulated the organisers for their timely initiative to commemorate the 100th birth anniversary of Netaji and said that this was one more event in the promotion of friendship between peoples of Russia and India. Speaking of various facets of Netaji's life and his role in the freedom struggle, Ambassador mentioned that Netaji was not only a great patriotic leader but also an early advocate of secularism, social justice, workers' rights, land reforms and planning.

4. Presenting the main paper at the Conference, Prof. Felix Yurlov, who had been with the International Relations Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and who is currently on the teaching staff of the Institute gave a detailed presentation of the life of Netaji and his untiring efforts in the pursuit of his ultimate aim of ensuring a British withdrawal from India.

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Prof. Yurlov also emphasised that Netaji's strategy of utilising all possible means to secure this aim has to be assessed in the context of the situation prevailing then. He mentioned that the views and personality of Netaji cannot be put into any category because he was as much against British imperialism as he was against facism. Netaji's views on the differences between communism and nationalism were also touched upon by him.

5. Other speakers also spoke in a similar vein.

6. In response to a question, Prof. Yurlov, who had been associated with research on requests from Indian scholars, etc. regarding the possibility of Netaji having been in the USSR in or after 1945, said that the archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the KGB clearly indicated that there was no evidence or record of Netaji having been on the territory of the former Soviet Union during or after 1945.

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(M. Ganapathi)

Minister (Pol)

23.1.1997



**Points for consideration by Ambassador for remarks at function**  
**dedicated to the Birth Centenary of Subash Chandra Bose**  
**Institute of Oriental Studies**  
**January 23, 1130 hours**

- Congratulate organisers on commemorating the birth centenary of one of the great sons of modern India. Their thoughtfulness is greatly appreciated. Express happiness.
- Born in a well to do middle class family in Cuttack on January 23, 1897. Early schooling in Cuttack and College in Calcutta. Went to England in 1920, admitted to Cambridge University. Despite shortage of time to prepare passed Indian Civil Service Exam, standing fourth. Underlines the precocious nature of Netaji even in his young days. This had become evident in school also.
- At early age in school exposed to different to different worlds of Indian and English approaches to life and racial discrimination. Came under influence of teachings of Swami Vivekananda and Ramakrishna Paramahansa to learn importance of service to humanity and question of renunciation of worldly needs. In college influenced by teachings of Aurobindo's philosophy and passion. His desire to desist from joining ICS made with the purpose of pursuing his dream to serve India and its people and to keep him away from any connection with official British Government. His father had also renounced title of Rai Bahadur against repressive policies of British.
- While at school, organised student unions. (Netaji seen by Nelson Mandela as an inspiration to black students in South Africa. He was seen to have united all militant youth in the colonially oppressed world).
- On return from Britain, met Gandhiji who directed him to C.R. Das in Calcutta. Came under influence of Das's teaching and ideas of non-cooperation with British. While in Calcutta led in organisation of boycott demonstrations against visit of Prince of Wales and the Simon Commission. As Chief Executive Officer of Calcutta Cooperation did a lot to serve common man.
- Belonged to the left wing of the Indian National Congress. Instrumental in formulation of early ideas in the Congress on land reforms and protection of workers rights. Elected President of All India Trade Union Congress from 1930-32.
- In January 1938, elected President INC, which proved turning point in his life. Reelected in 1939 defeating Gandhiji's candidate, Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Due to differences with Gandhiji on selection of executive body, stepped down from Presidentship. Formed Forward bloc within Congress.
- Despite belonging to left wing of Congress Party, was clear that India could not embrace communism as there was no sympathy for either communism or fascism in India. At the time freedom was more important than any other isms.

*Organised unions.*

*8/23/1*

*netaji (22)  
netaji (22)*



- Imprisoned as many as eleven times by the British. By threatening fast unto death he was released from prison. His most daring act was to escape from Calcutta on January 17, 1941 from Calcutta and landing in Berlin 10 weeks later under disguise and via Bihar, Peshawar, Kabul and Moscow. The escape was a major turning point in India's struggle for freedom.
- Netaji's association with Germany was primarily devoted to getting India rid of its colonial masters and not to support Germany in her quarrels with other countries. He achieved his primary goal in Germany by organising the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion. However, failing to obtain any support from Germany, he shifted his theatre of operations from Europe to Asia.
- After his visit to Germany operated extensively in eastern part of India and had planted tricolor at Moirang in Manipur on April 14, 1944. Had earlier formed Provisional Government of Azad Hind in 1943 at Singapore. Historic proclamation made here to launch and conduct freedom struggle leading to explosion of British and their allies from Indian soil. Famous war cry "Delhi Chalo" made in March 1944.
- INA an important organisation which infused national spirit in its members by bringing men from all religion and races together and to bring upon them a spirit of solidarity and oneness to exclusion of all communal and parochial sentiments. The importance of self-respect was inculcated in the minds of radical Indians and the middle classes. Under Netaji's leadership, INA was a very disciplined force.
- Netaji felt that as the overthrow of the Czarist Empire in Russia gave way to the founding of the USSR, the need to overthrow the British Empire to attain independence was important. His ideas on socio-economic problems drew inspiration from the rapid development made by Soviet Russia in industrialisation, which he felt could be further expedited in an independent India. He thought that planning was an essential element in the programme of industrial element.
- Keen on securing Russian support for India's independence. After some initial apprehension Japanese promised to extend assistance to him to reach Russian territory in Manchuria. He was to talk to the Russians thereafter and make his own decisions thereafter. Posed with difficult decision of going alone to Saigon to Russia. The last flight of his life on August 17, 1945.
- One important contribution was that while he took arms against the British in the cause of India's independence, he personally condemned aggression. He felt that India would never be an aggressor state and would fight aggression in any part of the world.
- Has edited Banglar Katha, Atmasakti and Forward.



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**Draft remarks by Ambassador at a Function dedicated to the  
Centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose  
at the Institute of Oriental Studies  
(22 January, 1997, 1130 hrs.)**

It is a matter of great happiness for me to be with all of you today to commemorate the Birth Centenary of Netaji who ranks amongst the greatest sons of India in the modern history. At the outset itself, I would like to thank you and also the Institute of Oriental Studies for their thoughtfulness for organising this function. Events in Netaji's life need no mention to such a distinguished gathering of Indologists and Orientologists. However, it would be opportune to recapitulate some of the features of his personality and some of his views which made him an unusually popular leader.

2. Netaji's personality was a mix of attractive and, at times, contradictory features. To quote Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, he combined "a <sup>fierce</sup> fairy passion with abundant practical common sense, deep sensitivity with cold and prudent pragmatism and a mystic influence with grasp of reality around him". Views of Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghosh influenced him in his formative years. Later, when he joined politics, he also absorbed revolutionary democratic thoughts and certain elements of communist ideology. In the Congress, he belonged to the left wing and devoted considerable time and energy to social problems. He participated in Trade Union Movement and

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was instrumental in formulation of the early ideas in the Congress itself regarding land reforms and protection of workers' rights. That he was an extremely able organizer and leader is attested to by his successful organisation of Congress Conventions and election to the post of the President of INC for two successive years, that is, 1938 and 1939. It was his leadership which transformed the enthusiastic bunch of patriotic Indians who had formed the Indian National Army into a disciplined force which fought with British forces and defeated them on the North-Eastern front of India during the Second World War.

3. During the 30s, Bose had an opportunity to learn about changes then going on in the West. He was convinced of the need to overthrow the British empire for attaining independence just as, in his own words, "the overthrow of the Czarist empire in Russia gave way to the founding of the USSR".

4. His ideas on socio-economic problems also had a lot of influence from the rapid development made by the Soviet Russia in industrialisation which he thought could be further expedited in an independent India. He also considered planning to be an essential part of the programme for industrial development.

5. The real contribution of Subhash Chandra Bose in the context of India's struggle for independence lies in the fact that his heroic escape



from India, his call of 'Jai Hind' and gallant efforts to fight with the British imperial forces convinced the Indians of the inevitability of their success in their struggle to liberate their motherland. All this also gave a sense of self-respect, especially to the Indian radicals and the middle classes. The INA trials held later <sup>served</sup> as rallying point in the Indian National Movement.

6. It is also important to note that Netaji did not waver from commitment to principles in pursuing the goal of India's independence with external help. Even while seeking German support in fighting the British, he made it clear that the Indian soldiers would fight against only the British forces and opposed the efforts to send them to fight on other fronts. The cruel face of Nazism shook him and he sought to redefine his strategy just before the end of the war.

7. When we remember Bose today, we should also remember that though he took arms against the British, he condemned aggression and thought that India would never be an aggressor and would support combating any aggression in the world. India stands true to his ideal, even today.

I once again thank you for this opportunity.



Mr. Yurlov, Institute of Oriental

Studies rang up to speak to  
Amb. on 15/1 at 1300 hrs.

He has invited Amb and some  
other officer from the Emb. on  
a function dedicated to  
first Centenary of Subhas Chandra  
Bose to be held by them  
on 22/1/97 at 1130 hrs.

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Embassy of India  
Moscow

Prof. Felix Yurlov of the Institute of Oriental Studies called me to inform that a function was being organised at the Institute of Oriental Studies on January 22, 1997 at 1130 hrs. to commemorate the birth centenary of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. Prof. Yurlov mentioned that the nature of the function would be "scientific" in nature. He would present a paper "Netaji Subash Chandra Bose - A view from Russia". Two more speakers are expected to make presentations. While the names of the speakers are not confirmed, these could include Dr. Mitrokhin and Prof. Kotovsky.

2. There is no confirmation whether the Director of the Institute, Prof. Rybakov, will be present at the function but Prof. Kutsenkov, Director of the Centre for India Studies is expected to attend. A few dozen scientists will also be around. The entire duration of the function is expected to be 1½ - 2 hours.

'A' 3. Prof. Yurlov has invited participation in the function by a senior officer of the Embassy. Cd'A might consider whether he would like to be present in this important event.

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)  
16.1.1997

Cd'A Many like to see for instructions  
on A. 16/1

~~Amb. as~~ I could attend, with MUP). ~~Ref. 16/1~~

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**DOCUMENTATION RELATING TO**  
**NETAJI SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE**

Shri Chitta Basu, MP had written to late PM Shri Rajiv Gandhi in April 1987 about presence of Archival material in Czech Academy of Sciences. In 1988, he wrote to President Gorbachev.

2. On March 5, 1990, Hindustan Times quoted Dr. Yurlova, a scholar at the Institute of Oriental Studies mentioning that Soviet scholars in possession of documents on Netaji. On April 9, 1990 in response to a PQ, an assurance was given that "efforts will be made to obtain either the original papers or their copies so that they could be studied". Shri Samar Guha, MP, further took up the matter with EAM in May 1990.

3. On May 21, 1990, the Embassy wrote to the MFA of the USSR requesting to explore the possibility of relevant materials, or copies of it, on Netaji being transferred to the National Archives in New Delhi. On August 17, 1990 the Soviet Foreign Office conveyed certain materials on Netaji available in Soviet Archives. Those materials, however, did not shed any further light on Netaji's fate or his sojourn in the USSR.

4. In December 1990, the Embassy sent a message to MEA in answer to a PQ that the material which had been received by the Embassy from the Soviet Foreign Office did not refer at all to the possibility of Netaji having taken shelter in the USSR after the Second World War. The Embassy subsequently received some material from the Soviet Foreign Office and these were forwarded to the Ministry in May 1991. The documents "threw no additional light on the fate of Netaji or his possible presence in the Soviet Union after his disappearance in 1945".

5. On September 16, 1991, the Embassy wrote to the Soviet Foreign Office enclosing a collection of documents on Netaji received from Shri Chitta Basu, MP. These documents contained suggestions quoting Soviet Diplomats to the effect that Netaji might have found his way to the Soviet Union after the alleged plane crash in 1945. Our note sought "any material available in the archives of Soviet Organisations, including security organisation, which could shed light on the fate of Netaji".

6. In its reply dated January 8, 1992 the Russian MFA stated that "as per data available in the central and republic archives, there was



no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and subsequent years".

7. In November 1992, Shri Samar Guha, MP wrote to MEA and FS asked the Embassy to see whether more information could be obtained from the Russian side, the matter was taken up with the Russian authorities. FS however wrote to Shri Guha that "our own enquiries with the Russians, pursuant to your suggestions, indicate that they themselves accept that Netaji died in the plane crash in 1945". However, based on FS's advise, the Mission took up the matter with the Russian Foreign Office on January 10, 1993.

8. In Autumn 1993, the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" carried three articles on Netaji ostensibly drawing on KGB archival material. Inter alia, the article concluded with a "certificate" dated December 25, 1945 from the KGB archives signed by a NKVD functionary mentioning that "after the Japanese capitulation in the first half of September 1945, Tass, quoting British sources informed from Tokyo that Subash Chandra Bose, staying in Japan has died".

9. On July 27, 1995, the Embassy forwarded Shri Samar Guha's monogram "country must know what happened to Netaji". The note mentioned that there had been further speculation on Netaji's visit to the former Soviet Union in 1945 and requested that "all materials available on this subject be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subash Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently".

10. "The Pioneer" of September 14, 1995 quoted Dr. Purabi Roy, Dr. Hari Vasudevan and Dr. Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta on their visit as a part of the Asiatic Society delegation and stating that request would be made for scholars to collect more information "Indian leaders". They specifically referred to "hitherto unknown facts about Netaji". "The Indian Express" on September 19, 1995 also carried a report "Government apathy leaves Netaji's fate buried in Moscow's files". These scholars mentioned "utmost difficulties" in gaining access to materials and also talked of "restrictions" imposed on them by a section of Embassy officials.

11. The MFA wrote to us on September 27, 1995 saying that their investigation with the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History showed that "no information



whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years". In forwarding the letter Ambassador Kotov categorically asserted that "we can be sure that Netaji has never set foot on Russian soil" and that "extensive research can hardly leave any doubts" in this regard.

12. "The Hindustan Times" of October 22, 1995 mentioned "Pranab's mission revives Netaji's death row". The same paper on December 10, 1995 mentioned Shri Chitta Basu, MP demanding a "fresh probe" into Netaji's death.

13. On March 27, 1996 MEA had forwarded PMO's letter of March 3, 1996 enclosing a letter from Shri Pradip Bose asking that Russian Government files on Netaji be "opened up". MEA had asked us to make discreet enquiries.

14. While accompanying the Hon'ble Speaker to Moscow, Shri Chita Basu, MP had brought up the subject of Netaji with members of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The Hon'ble MP wanted a clear statement from the Russian side regarding Netaji's death. Prof. Mitrokhin informed Shri Basu that FM Primakov, as the then Director of the Institute, had himself made an effort to find out the correct position on Netaji's stay in Russia. Prof. Mitrokhin also mentioned that certain documents regarding Netaji's arrival and transit through Russia from Afghanistan, on his way to Germany were available. He had, however, added that it would be necessary for him to go to Irkutsk Region to find additional details if available on the subject on Netaji's death in Russia. He hoped that he would be able to make the trip to the region.

15. On his return to India, Shri Basu wrote to Ambassador vide his letter dated October 26, 1996, mentioning about the meeting and requesting the Embassy to take up the question of the "mystery of Netaji's disappearance" further with the Russian Government and with the Archives.

16. On December 4, Members in the Lok Sabha demanded a "fresh probe into the mysterious disappearance of Netaji". Congress MP Ms. Mamta Banerjee is supposed to have pointed to newspaper reports from Moscow that Netaji might be alive and asked the Government to find out his whereabouts. Ms. Banerjee was supported by other MPs.

17. OSD (EE) had faxed a Hindustan Times report of December 3, 1996 regarding a letter from one Mr. Joychandra Singh of Imphal



written to Col. Brilev, the Chief of the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence seeking assistance in his research on the death of Netaji and "whether the Soviet Army had arrested him at Taipei". Mr. Singh had also asked whether Netaji had died in the plane crash. In his response of October 15, 1996, Col. Brilev informed Mr. Singh that "no records existed in the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence on the circumstances surrounding the death in August 1945 of Netaji".

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**DOCUMENTATION RELATING TO NETAJI SUBASH CHANDRA  
BOSE**

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TELEX/TELEFAX

From : Indembassy, Moscow

To : EAM's Office, New Delhi (11-3011463)

Shri D.B. Venkatesh Varma, APS to EAM from Minister (Pol)

Faxed below is the letter No. 2/YuA of January 8, 1992, in its original Russian and rough translation, on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)  
13/10/95

Copy by bag with the copy of enclosure to Shri R.L. Narayan, Joint Secretary (EE), Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)



(rough translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Russian Federation

No. 2/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of Republic of India and with reference to the Embassy's Note dated 16 September 1991, has the honour to inform that according to the data in the Central and Republican Archives, no information whatsoever is available on the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 and thereafter.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow  
8 January 1992

Embassy of the  
Republic of India  
Moscow



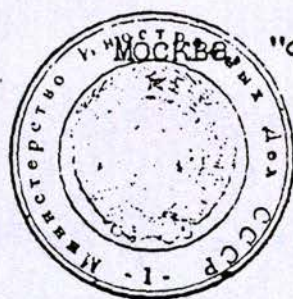
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

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№. 2 /ЮА

Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации свидетельствует свое уважение Посольству Республики Индии и, ссылаясь на ноту Посольства от 16 сентября 1991 года, имеет честь сообщить, что по данным центральных и республиканских архивов каких-либо сведений о пребывании в Советском Союзе в 1945 и последующие годы бывшего президента Индийского национального конгресса Нетаджи Субхаш Чандра Боса не имеется.

Министерство пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Посольству уверения в своем высоком уважении.



"8" января 1992 года

ПОСОЛЬСТВУ РЕСПУБЛИКИ

ИНДИИ

г. Москва



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FAX

From

Foreign

New Delhi

To

Indembassy

Moscow

Minister (Pol) from OSD (EE)

The article (below) on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose published in Hindustan Times of 3.12.96 is of interest. It indicates that E/I, Moscow has fairly recently (30 October 1996) conveyed in writing to a Mr. L. Joychandra Singh a response received from the Russian Defence Ministry Central Archives. If so, grateful if a copy of the letter and enclosure be provided to MEA urgently. Am also enclosing two other items (in Asian Age of 5.12.96 and Times of India of 6.12.96) on the same subject for your information.

*(Signature)*  
(Ajai Malhotra)  
OSD (EE)  
6.12.96

Plg him to see p.  
'A' - article says below  
no. MA/116/2/124/1 -  
perhaps for Mr. Gita Singh (Placed below)

*(Signature)*

*(Signature)* 11/12  
*(Signature)* 11/12  
*(Signature)* 11/12  
*(Signature)* 11/12



IN PARLIAMENT

# Mamata, Leftists join hands, seek new Netaji probe

New Delhi, Dec. 4: Members of the Lok Sabha on Wednesday vociferously demanded a fresh probe into the "mysterious" disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose after his plane crashed in Japan and urged the government to come out with an action plan on his birth centenary celebrations next year.

The members also wanted the government to declare January 23, the birthday of Netaji, a national holiday.

Raising the issue during Zero Hour, Ms Mamata Banerjee (Congress) said that reports from Moscow newspapers recently said that Netaji might be alive.

The government should try to find out his whereabouts as the countrymen were interested to know about him, she said.

Supporting Ms Banerjee, CPI (M) members, Mr Basudeb Acharya and Mr Nirmal Kant Chatterjee, pointed out that January 23 had already been declared a public holiday in West Bengal and they would like the Union government to make a similar declaration.

When asked the House, Mr Ram Vilas Paswan, responded by saying that he

would convey the members' feelings to the Prime Minister, Mr H.D. Deve Gowda.

BJP member Lai Muni Choubey said it was regrettable that the government was still considering celebrating Netaji's birth centenary.

The deputy speaker, Mr Suraj Bhan, said he did not think there were two opinions on the question of celebrating Netaji's birth centenary.

Mr Ram Vilas Paswan said that Netaji's birth centenary would be celebrated but the government would have to look into the demand for declaration of January 23 as a national public holiday.

Currently only October 2, the birthday of the father of the nation, is a public holiday, he said.

On the question of Netaji being alive, Mr Paswan said that he would convey the members' feelings to the Prime Minister.

The deputy speaker observed that the leaders of all political parties should sit together and chalk out plans to celebrate birth centenary of Netaji like Pt. Ambedkar and Jagjivan Ram. (PTI)

## Waiting for Bose

THE Bengalis' capacity to yearn for the impossible is obviously limitless. Saurav Ganguly may once again take a ton and Prof Amartya Sen may one day win the Nobel prize for economics, but even by the standards of the venerable centurion, Mr Nirad Mahdhar, the chances of Subhash Chandra Bose still being alive indeed appear remote. Nevertheless, nationalist Bengalis the world over cling to the belief that Netaji is alive and well somewhere in East or South-East Asia and is only waiting for the "appropriate moment" to re-emerge and save us from the corruption and inefficiency plaguing the nation.

During the Lok Sabha's precious 'Zero Hour', when MPs get a rare chance to create a din on matters of rising importance, a number of Bengali parliamentarians cutting across party lines recently demanded that the government investigate the fate of Bose's last flight. Mr Mamta Banerjee angrily insisted there were reports from Moscow of Netaji still being alive and demanded that the government urgently try to find out his whereabouts as "the countrymen are interested to know about him". The apostrophic lady's call was echoed by other MPs from the CPM and

Forward Bloc and the hapless leader of the House, who decided rather wisely that discretion is the better part of valour, promised to forward their belief in Netaji's immortality to the Prime Minister for investigation.

Fifty years after his death (of course, some would consider any reference to his possible demise as treasonable), Bose continues to serve as a barometer for our political and emotional immaturity. It is impossible to have a rational discussion on the complex nature of his political persona — his alliance with Hitler and 1938, for example, or his opposition to Gandhi — without attracting a fusillade of criticism, especially in Calcutta. But instead of yearning for the return of an old man, however revered and wise he may have been, or demanding a national holiday on his birthday, it would be more appropriate for Netaji's followers to actually build for themselves the kind of society our freedom fighters dreamed about.



*Times of India (6.12.96)*



## Netaji death remains a mystery

3/12/96

IMPHAL, Dec. 2 (UNI) Colonel N. Briley, chief of Central Archives, Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, Moscow, has officially informed to Mr L. Joychandra Singh for the first time that "there are no records available with the archives on the death of Mr Subhash Chandra Bose (Netaji) in Taipaci plane crash or arrest of him by the USSR army."

Addressing a Press conference here yesterday, Mr L. Joychandra Singh, who had been doing research on the death of Netaji at the instance of late Prime Minister

Indira Gandhi, said he had requested the chief of Central Archives on Aug. 26, to give him information about the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

The official reply of the inquiry came from the Central Archives through the embassy of India, Moscow, vide letter No. Ma/116/2/124/1 dated Oct. 30, 1996.

Mr Singh said 'what Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation said was correct that no USSR army was present in South-East Asia, except in Korea on August, 1945. There is a controversy over the death of Netaji in the plane

crash on August 18, 1945. As some people had said that Netaji did not die in the crash and he was arrested by USSR army who carried him to Russia where he was shot dead by Russian army under the orders of Stalin.

Mr L. Joychandra Singh had been doing research since 1984.

Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, the then Minister of External Affairs, wrote a letter on June 21, 1984, on behalf of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to Mr L. Joychandra Singh saying that "I fully agree with you that there should be a national consensus on this question".



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308

FAX

53

From: Indembassy Moscow  
To : Foreign New Delhi

OSD (EE) from Minister (Pol)

Your fax on Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. Faxed below is the  
correspondence from the MA's office.

---

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)  
6.12.1996

ok



Embassy of India,  
Moscow, Russia

124

307

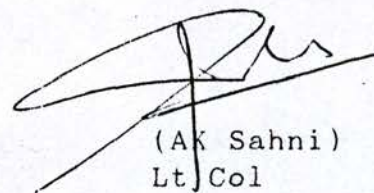
MA/118/2/124 /I

30 October 96

Mr Joychandra Singh  
PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR (INDIA)

RESEARCH ON THE DEATH OF MR SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE,  
SUPREME COMMANDER OF INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY (INA)

1. Please refer to your letter dated 26 August 1996 addressed to the Director of Central Archives, Ministry of Defence, Russian Federation.
2. Colonel N Brilev the Chief of the Central Archive has replied that there is no records available with the Archives on the subject. The reply in Russian with its unofficial translation forwarded to us by the Foreign Relations Department of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation is also enclosed for your records.
3. Please acknowledge.



(AK Sahni)  
Lt Col  
AMA(GS)  
For Military Attache

Encls : As above

o/c

re / be  
123





**ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ АРХИВ  
МИНИСТЕРСТВА ОБОРОНЫ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ**

"5" октября 1996 г.

№ 2, 22672

142100, г. Подольск, Московской обл.

НАЧАЛЬНИКУ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ ВНЕШНИХ  
СНОШЕНИЙ МО РФ

103160, г. Москва, К-160

123

305

При ответе ссылаться на наш номер и дату.

Направляю письмо господина Л. Джойчандра Сингх на Ваше рассмотрение и для ответа заявителю и одновременно сообщаю, что сведениями об обстоятельствах гибели в августе 1945 года Верховного Главнокомандующего Индийской Национальной Армии Субаша Чандра Боса Центральный архив МО РФ не располагает.

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ: с/н/вх. № 22672 на двух листах, адресату.

НАЧАЛЬНИК ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО АРХИВА  
МИНИСТЕРСТВА ОБОРОНЫ РФ

ПОЛКОВНИК

Н. БРИЛЕВ

га вл  
124

Алексеев Н.Н.

Лист 23. 10. 96г.



UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF CENTRAL ARCHIVE  
LETTER NO 22672 DATED 15 OCTOBER 96

306

Enclosed is a letter from Mr L Joychandra Singh which has been seen and it is replied that there are no records with the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation about the Catastrophe in August 1945 and death of Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army Mr Subhash Chandra Bose.

Enclosed : Two letters with our letter No 22672.

Chief of Central Archives  
Ministry of Defence  
of the Russian Federation

sd/- x x x x

(Colonel N BRILEV)



УПРАВЛЕНИЕ  
ВНЕШНИХ СНОШЕНИЙ

Министерства обороны  
Российской Федерации

ВОЕННОМУ АТТАШЕ ПРИ ПОСОЛЬСТВЕ  
ИНДИИ В РОССИИ

28 октября 1996 г.

№ 1843

Москва, Г-19, Крестовоздвиженский пер., 2

бригадиру Р.Аней

Уважаемый господин Бригадир!

Управление внешних сношений Министерства обороны Российской Федерации свидетельствует Вам свое уважение и имеет честь передать ответ Центрального архива МО РФ на письмо гражданина Индии Л.Джойчандра Сингха.

Прошу не отказать в любезности довести содержание ответа архива до заявителя.

Управление внешних сношений МО РФ пользуется настоящим случаем чтобы возобновить Аппарату Военного Атташе при Посольстве Индии в Москве свои уверения в весьма глубоком уважении.

Приложение: на 3 листах.

С уважением

ЗАМЕСТИТЕЛЬ НАЧАЛЬНИКА УПРАВЛЕНИЯ  
генерал-майор



Ю.Лебедев



L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax, No.— 0091—385—225544, Prajatantra Imphal  
0091—385—222936  
0091—385—220471

Phone { 220147 [o]  
221538 [o]  
220471 [R]

Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

Imphal 26 Aug, 1996.

To  
The Director,  
Central Archive  
Ministry of Defence,  
Russian Federation  
City - Podolsk  
District: Moscovskaya  
Street: Kirova, House No. 74  
Rossia - I4I000

NO-12  
H.P. nepececty

303

Sir,

I have been doing research on the death of Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander of Indian National Army (INA). He fought during 2nd. World War against American-British-USSR forces. He was fighting with Japan. Whether is a fact that he died at a plane crash at Taiphei on 18 August 1945 there ? He boarded a plane at Saigon for Taiphei.

Whether USSR Army arrested him at Taiphei or not ?

This information is urgently needed for my research.

I shall be very grateful if you kindly consider to write me a line on this question.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,

( L. Joychandra Singh )



# МЕМОРИАЛ

103051, Москва, Малый Каретный переулок, дом 12  
Телефон: 299-11-80, 200-63-06  
Телефакс: 973-20-94  
Р/с № 700665 в Ленингр. отд. Межбанксвязи МФО 2016/94

ММ-272

16.09.96

Глубокоуважаемый господин L.Joychandra Singh!

С сожалением сообщаем Вам, что данными, о которых Вы нас спрашиваете, мы не располагаем и поэтому предоставить Вам нужную информацию Вам не можем.

Мы рекомендовали бы Вам направить Ваши запросы:

- в Центральный архив Министерства Обороны Российской Федерации (адрес: Россия, 141000 Московская область, г.Подольск, ул.Кирова, дом 74);
- в приемную Федеральной Службы Безопасности (адрес: Россия, 103760 Москва, Кузнецкий Мост, дом 22).

Возможно, интересующая Вас информация находится там.

С уважением,

Исполнительный директор  
общества "Мемориал"



Е.Жемкова



NNNN. NEWDEL MOS7

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FRESH PROBE INTO MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF NETAJI URGED  
NETAJI

✓  
HCP

NEW DELHI, DEC 4 (PTI) MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON WEDNESDAY VOCIFEROUSLY DEMANDED A FRESH PROBE INTO THE 'MYSTERIOUS' DISAPPEARANCE OF SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE, THE PIONEER OF INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE, AFTER HIS PLANE CRASHED IN JAPAN.

THE MEMBERS ALSO WANTED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO DECLARE JANUARY 23, THE BIRTHDAY OF BOSE -- POPULARLY KNOWN AS NETAJI -- A NATIONAL HOLIDAY AND URGED THE GOVERNMENT TO COME OUT WITH AN ACTION PLAN ON HIS BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS NEXT YEAR.

RAISING THE ISSUE DURING ZERO HOUR, MAMTA BANERJEE (CONGRESS) SAID THAT REPORTS FROM MOSCOW HAD OF LATE APPEARED IN NEWSPAPERS THAT NETAJI MIGHT BE ALIVE. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TRY TO FIND OUT HIS WHEREABOUTS AS THE COUNTRYMEN WERE INTERESTED TO KNOW ABOUT HIM, SHE SAID.

SUPPORTING BANERJEE, CPI-M MEMBERS, BASUDEB ACHARIA AND NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE POINTED OUT THAT JANUARY 23 HAD ALREADY BEEN DECLARED A PUBLIC HOLIDAY IN WEST BENGAL AND THEY WOULD LIKE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MAKE A SIMILAR DECLARATION.

SOON AFTER THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE, RAM VILAS PASWAN, RESPONDED, SAYING HE WOULD CONVEY THE MEMBERS' FEELINGS TO PRIME MINISTER. BJP MEMBER LAL MUNI CHOUBEY SAID IT WAS REGRETTABLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS STILL CONSIDERING CELEBRATING NETAJI'S BIRTH CENTENARY. PTI DDG SPR



NNNN. NEWDEL MOS7

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NETAJI

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Netaji  
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158/P.4/17  
18.3.97

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My like to see enclosure below.

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159/Pol/97  
18.3.97

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

298

**Summary of discussion regarding the suspected presence of Netaji in  
the former USSR in or after August 1945  
at a dinner in the residence of Minister (Pol)  
(December 9, 1996 at 1930 hrs)**

Those present were:-

1. Dr. Leonid V. Mitrokhin, Centre of India Research, RAS
2. Prof. Anatoly A. Kutsenkov, Centre of India Research, RAS
3. Prof. Felix N. Yurlov, Senior Researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies
4. Mrs. Yevgeniya S. Yurlova, Senior Researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies
5. Mr. Vladimir K. Turadzhov, Editor-in-Chief, Asia and Africa monthly.
6. Ambassador Shri R. Sen
7. Shri M. Ganapathi, Minister (Political) - Host
8. Shri Gopal Baglay, Second Secretary (Political)

---

1. Minister (Political) explained that the question of Netaji's presence in the USSR in or after August 1945 has been raised from time to time by certain politicians and academicians who believe that the plane accident on 18 August 1945 in which Netaji is reported to have died was nothing but a cover up to facilitate his escape into USSR. There are people who believe that Netaji is alive even today. Very recently, some MPs have demanded investigation involving the documents which some Indian scholars allege are present in some archives in RF and which could shed light on the above hypothesis. These contentions, which always have an emotional overtone, assume additional significance as the birth centenary of Netaji will fall on January 23 next.

2. Ambassador said that the whole controversy could be reduced to a specific question - whether Netaji came to the former USSR, in or after August 1945. He mentioned that the people in India who contend that this was actually the case quote some Russian scholars as saying that documents to prove do exist in Russia and further investigation could unearth significant evidence also in terms of people who had allegedly met Netaji in USSR after 1945. He quoted Hon'ble MP Shri Chitta Basu, who, during his visit to the RF in October last had a meeting with Russian



scholars in the Institute of Oriental Studies and conveyed to Ambassador their readiness in this regard. Ambassador added that some Indian scholars allege that they have not been allowed full access to the relevant archival material and also that the Indian Embassy is trying to actively discourage any investigation in this matter. The fact is that not once but twice, the Embassy had requested the Russian authorities, also through the MFA, which, after thorough investigation involving all the concerned archives, reported through *note verbal* - the most formal mode of communication between two governments- that no evidence on this subject was available with the Russian authorities. If the Indian Embassy makes another request or funds or officially helps any other investigation in this regard it would amount to doubting the truthfulness of the Russian Government and the sincerity and efficiency of Russian colleagues which the Embassy will not to do. Moreover, an investigation has to have a *prima facie* evidence as its basis which the Embassy does not see in the present case in the face of these communications by the Russian authorities.

3. The Russian academicians, some of whom had shown an initial enthusiasm in organising an investigation group, agreed to the suggestion of the Ambassador that they could instead get in touch with their Indian counterparts in the Asiatic Society who maintain that such material is present and ask them to substantiate their source of information and specify what type of material and in which possible source (archive) they were referring to.

Submitted for information and record, please.



(Gopal Baglay)  
Second Secretary (Political)  
11.12.1996

Minister(Political)

Any info to be submitted or submitted

for info sent

2/12/96

ColA



296

MA/118/2/127/I

26 Dec 96

MILITARY WING

51

RESEARCH ON THE DEATH OF MR SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE,  
SUPREME COMMANDER OF INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY (INA)

1. Please refer to teleconversation between Brigadier Rajan Aney, Ex Military Attache and Minister (Political) on the subject.
2. Please find enclosed a letter received from Mr L Joychandra Singh who is doing Research on the death of Mr Subash Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander of Indian National Army (INA), for your further necessary action.

(AK Sahni)

Lt Col

AMA (GS)

Minister (Political)

2 file

21/12

1/2

Any time to see. Mr. Joychandra Singh says  
that he is pursuing his research on INA report.  
2. Any time to see short note recorded by  
MSP after meeting with IAS faculty on Dec 12, 96,  
which inadvertently was not submitted earlier.

21/12

1/2

capa

Ministry



L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax, No.— 0091—385—225544, Prajatantra Imphal  
0091—385—222936  
0091—385—220471

Phone { 220147 [o]  
221538 [o]  
220471 [R]

Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

1st. December 1996.

To  
Mr. A.K. Sahni  
Lt. Col  
AMA (GS)  
Military Attache  
Embassy of India,  
6-8, Ulitsa Obukha  
Moscow  
Rossia.

Sir,

This is in continuence of my letter dated 30 Nov.1996  
addressed to you.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter dated  
30 Nov. 1996 addressed to the Chief of Central Archives,  
Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation.

I shall be very grateful, if you kindly consider to  
get a reply from them and send it to me. I have been doing this  
Research on the request of Ministry of External Affairs,  
Government of India, New Delhi since 1984.

Yours faithfully,

  
( L. Joychandra Singh )



Phone { 220471 [R] 221238 [O] 220143 [O] }

0091-382-220471  
0091-382-221238  
0091-382-220143

L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

SEEN BY	INITIALS
MA	
AMA 1	
AMA 2	24/12
PA 1	
PA 2	
C 1	
C 2	
C 3	
C 4	

*Send to Mr (P)  
for action as deemed fit.*

To  
Mr. A.K. Sahni  
Lt. Col  
AMA (GS)  
Military Attaché  
Embassy of India  
6-8, Ujjaini Chokha  
Moscow  
Russia.

Sir,

The gentlemen had written directly to Russian Archives and the reply to his last letter was handed over to us by U.S., which was forwarded to him.

Subsequently MA was asked by Mr(P) and I on the correspondence as the then aspect was quoted in the Russian news. The were requested by Mr(P) to forward all further communication to him for action.

*g*

( L. Joychandra Singh )



L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax. NO.— 0091—385—225544, Prajatantra Imphal

0091—385—222936

0091—385—220471

Phone { 220147 [o]  
221538 [o]  
220471 [R]

Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS  
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

Imphal 30 Nov. 1996.

To  
The Chief of Central Archives,  
Ministry of Defence  
Russian Federation  
City - Podolsk  
District: Moscovskaya  
Street: Kirova, House No. 74  
Rossia - I4I000

Subject:- Mr. Subash Chandra Bose of India.

Sir,

Thank you very much for your kind information sent to me through Embassy of India Moscow, Russia which was received by me today.

I am very happy to know that there are no records with the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation about the Catastrophe in August 1945 and the death of Commander-in-Chief of Indian National Army Mr. Subash Chandra Bose.

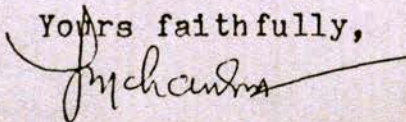
In India there is lots of rumour and questions that Stalin has killed Mr. Subash Chandra Bose in the Russian custody in August 1945.

I shall be very grateful, if you kindly consider to enlighten me about this rumour and questions.

I am enclosing herewith a cutting of Indian paper for easy reference and information about it.

Thank you very much once again.

Yours faithfully,

  
( L. Joychandra Singh )



# Did Stalin kill Netaji?

By A Staff Reporter

Did Stalin kill Netaji Subhas Bose in August, 1945 when he was in Russian custody? Mr Amiyannath Bose, former Ambassador to Burma and Netaji's nephew, said at a Press conference on Friday that he believed that just as Mr Abani Mukherjee and Mr Biren Chattapadhyay, two communists from India, were liquidated by Stalin, Netaji too was killed in the same manner. He announced that Netaji was not killed in a plane crash in 1945 but "whatever happened to him it occurred at the time India's independence in 1947".

Mr Bose said that a telephone call from a former Swedish diplomat amazed him only two days ago. The diplomat from Geneva invited him to visit Europe as soon as possible, because he would "reveal something new to him on his arrival there. Mr Bose believed that since the man from Geneva had told him that he would be telling him something "bad" about Netaji, it could be of great interest and importance to the people of India. He said public

opinion should be mobilised to create pressure on the Indian Government to find out the truth.

Mr Bose was speaking on the reports that some persons were attempting to bring the 'ashes' now lying in the Renkoji temple, Tokyo, to India and to foist them on the Indian people as "the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." However, Netaji's 80-year-old wife who was ill, said that the ashes of her husband could not be brought from Japan.

Mr Bose also said that the Indian Government should try to ascertain the fact through the Russian government, and find out more about the circumstances under which Netaji was staying in Soviet custody. It was revealed from the diary of Sarat Chandra Bose, who was still in detention in Coonoor in 1945 that there was a record about the alleged death of Subhas in an aeroplane crash.

But then American Intelligence reports said that there was no air-crash at Taihoku, Japan in August, 1945 and that Subhas Chandra Bose was able to reach safely his "pre-determined destination". It was known to all concerned that his destination was

Manchuria. After that General Zaman Kiani, Col. Habibur Rahman and Col. Gulzar Singh, all top ranking officers of the Indian National Army, arrived in Calcutta on August 16, 1946 and spent a fortnight at Netaji's Woodburn park residence.

Mr Bose mentioned that Col. Habibur Rahman, who boarded the same plane along with Netaji at Saigon on August 17, 1945 produced a rectangular wrist watch and told Sarat Bose that Netaji was wearing the watch when he boarded the plane at Saigon. The leather strap and the watch itself were partially burnt.

When Mr Bose was Indian ambassador at Rangoon, he tried to unravel the truth behind Netaji's sudden disappearance through the President of Burma, Mr Ne Win. But he failed as Habibur Rahman who was residing in Pakistan died of a heart attack before divulging the truth.

The recent telephone call might reveal some unknown facts, he felt. He would go to Geneva and meet the former Swedish diplomat. He rejected the Shah Nawaz and other committee findings on Netaji.



**CHITTA BASU**  
Member of Parliament  
(Lok Sabha)



28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road,  
New Delhi - 110001  
Phone : 3712260

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October 25, 1996.

Dear Shri Sen,

I thank you and the staff members of Indian Embassy at Moscow and St. Petersburg for extending fullest cooperation during our stay in Russia. And for this, I personally feel indebted to you and your colleagues.

2. I had the occasion to meet Dr. Anatoly A. Kutzenkov, Director of the Centre for International Studies in the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) on 23.10.1996 with the help of Dr. D. Gagoi of Indian Embassy in Moscow. I enclose herewith the general trend of discussion with the academicians present for your kind perusal.

3. I take this opportunity to invite your kind attention to the paragraph 9 of the note enclosed dealing with the reported death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, the Indian National Hero, and his presence in Russia.

4. In this connection, I draw your kind attention to the following statement of Late lamented former Prime Minister of India in the Indian Parliament on August 28, 1978: "Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's death following a plane crash as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness of the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witness have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are not decisive:".

Pl discuss  
MCP  
11/11

contd....2/-



5. The Aide-Memoire which I had handed over to you in Moscow indicated that Netaji was set to proceed to Manchuria (page 37 of the Aide Memoire) after the surrender of Jahan in World War.II.

6. Recently, the some of the Indian scholars who are engaged in the joint research works about the history of India-Russia bilateral relations extending upto 1947, have indicated the presence of Netaji in Russian territory till October 1946 even after the reported plane crash on August 18, 1945 due to which he was supposed to have died.

7. This has reference to Article 68 of the Programme of Cultural,Scientific and Educational Exchange between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation for the years 1993-1995, the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russian Academy of Sciences and Asiatic Society, Calcutta. In terms of this, these institutes have agreed to a joint programme for bringing out collected works on the age old ties by delving into the past to search for the roots of the cultural links between India and Russia since the 15th century and beyond, with special

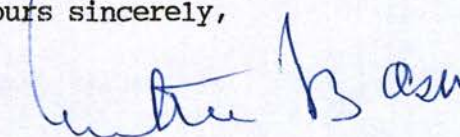
reference to the 19th century and first part of the 20th century that is upto 1917 in three volumes (Vol.1, Vol.2, Vol.3) and another volume based on archival materials in Russia from 1917 to 1947 (Vol.4).

8. In the light of these revelations, may I request you to take up the matter with the Government of Russian Federation as well as the Government of India, so that the mystry of Netaji's disappearance is unravelled. The war archives of the Russian Government have reportedly become accessible to the public now. But I am told that certain archive materials are not made available with the Indian scholars as yet, for reasons not explained.

9. I shall be highly obliged if you please take pains to collect the relevant information in this regard and send to me.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,



(CHITTA BASU)

Shri Ranen Sen,  
Ambassador of India in Russian Federation,  
Moscow.  
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DR. NIKOLAY A.  
KUTZENKOV

Meeting of Hon MP Mr. Chitta Basu mba

DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES IN THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
(RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES) ON 23.10.1996.

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AFTER EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS, THE  
HON'BLE MP MR. BASU STARTED THE DISCUSSIONS  
ASKING DR. KUTZENKOV A QUESTION ON THE  
ROLE OF THE INSTITUTE AND ITS ACTIVITIES, AND  
ON THE ASSESSMENT OF DR. KUTZENKOV ON THE  
POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA.

2. IN REPLY, DR. KUTZENKOV INTRODUCED A  
NUMBER OF PROFESSORS PRESENT AT THE  
MEETING DEALING WITH VARIOUS SUBJECTS LIKE  
INDIAN POLITICAL STRUCTURES, INDIAN  
CULTURE, INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY, INDIA CHINA  
RELATIONS, SOCIAL PROBLEMS LIKE CASTEISM,  
SC/ST/OBC ISSUES, COMPARATIVE STUDIES ON  
INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RELATIONS,  
DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY AND OTHER  
ISSUES. IN THE MEETING, THE ACADEMICIANS  
PRESENT WERE THE FOLLOWING :

1. PROF. FELIX YURLOV
2. PROF. BORIS KLUYEV
3. PROF. SERGEI LUNEV
4. DR. YEVGENIA VAKINA
5. DR. MARINA PLESHOVA
6. DR. YEUGENIA YURLOVA
7. DR. LEONID MITROVLINA
8. DR. YURI TZIGANYOV
9. DR. TATIANA SHANIMILAN

COMMUNALISM OF THE MAJORITY GROUP WHICH  
POSES GRAVE DANGER TO THE COUNTRY.



3. THE DIRECTOR INFORMED THE HON'BLE M.P. OF THE BACKGROUND OF THE CENTRE FOR INDIAN STUDIES WHICH WAS OPENED ON THE BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY MR. GORBACHEV AFTER HIS VISIT TO (JNU) INDIA IN 1986 TO COLLECT MATERIAL FOR ANALYSIS ON RUSSO-INDIAN RELATIONS.

4. KUTZENKOV ALSO INFORMED THAT THE PRESENT FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION MR. YEVGENI PREMLAKOV ALSO WAS THE DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES FOR ABOUT A DECADE BEFORE HE JOINED AS CHIEF OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, AND LATER HE JOINED AS FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

5. MR. KUTZENKOV ALSO INFORMED THAT PRIMARILY THE INSTITUTE DEALS WITH MATTERS WITH A HOLISTIC APPROACH ON RELATIONS OF RUSSIA WITH INDIA (AND OTHER COUNTRIES), PARTICULARLY ON POLITICAL RELATIONS, TO CREATE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT INDIA'S CONDITION IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM COUNTRIES RUSSIA SUPPORTED, LIKE VIETNAM, COMBODIA, ANGOLA ETC. FURTHER, RUSSIA HAS PERMANENT 'GEO-POLITICAL INTERESTS' WHICH ARE TO BE UNDERSTOOD.

6. THE INSTITUTE'S SMALL CONTRIBUTION OF "THE CONCEPT OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP OF RUSSIA WITH INDIA" HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT. FURTHER, DURING VISIT OF PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO INDIA IN JANUARY 1993 THE INSTITUTE PROVIDED ANALYTICAL MATERIAL AND



DOCUMENTS WHICH WERE ACCEPTED AND APPRECIATED BY THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT'S OFFICE. HOWEVER, THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT SEEM TO GIVE THE INSTITUTE MUCH IMPORTANCE; APPARENTLY BECAUSE THEIR KNOWLEDGE IS EITHER TOO MUCH OR NOT QUITE ADEQUATE, HE STATED. IN ANY CASE, DR. KUTZENKOV ADDED THAT THIS INSTITUTE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CREATION OF PUBLIC OPINION ON 'GEO-POLITICAL STABILISATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND INDIA IN AREAS OF MUTUAL INTERESTS, IN CENTRAL ASIA, WHERE THERE IS A COMMONALITY OF MUTUAL INTEREST, FOR PRESERVING DEMOCRACY, SECULARISM AND TO PREVENT CONFLICTS AND MILITANCY. 'NATIONAL INTEGRITY' IS A COMMON FACTOR BOTH FOR RUSSIA AND INDIA.

PARTICULARLY

7. DR. KUTZENKOV ALSO SPOKE ABOUT INDIA'S ROLE IN IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA AND VICE VERSA, AND ALSO ITS ROLE OF COOPERATION IN MATTERS RELATING TO OTHER GLOBAL ISSUES, DEMOCRACY, POLITICAL RELATIONS, ECONOMIC GROUPINGS ETC AS A MATTER OF NATIONAL PRIORITY. IN ANY CASE, HE EMPHASIZED THAT THERE IS A GROWING NEED FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND RUSSIA AS BOTH COUNTRIES ARE RATHER ALONE AND OUT OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GROUPINGS. HE PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THAT (A) RUSSIA SHOULD INCREASE COOPERATION IN POWER SECTORS IN INDIA WHERE RUSSIA HAS COLLABORATED IN MORE THAN 100 PROJECTS. (B) EXCHANGE OF TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW IN HIGH TECHNOLOGY (C) HE PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED

The Establishment and corruption in



CONSUMER INDUSTRIES ETC. IN RUSSIA. HE THANKED MR. BASU FOR HIS VISIT AND INFORMED HIM THAT THE INSTITUTE HAS BEEN ALWAYS HAVING EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH AMBASSADOR SEN AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF.

8. IN REPLY, THE HON'BLE MP INFORMED THE DIRECTOR THAT THE PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT TO THE INSTITUTE WAS TO CONVINCE THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT TO TAKE CONCRETE STEPS TO DEVELOP INDIA-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, WHICH SHOULD RECEIVE ITS ATTENTION. SHRI BASU ALSO INFORMED THE ACADEMICIANS ABOUT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA, PARTICULARLY HIS OWN VIEWS AND THE VIEWS OF THE LEFTIST PARTIES AND THE PARTY HE REPRESENTS. HE ALSO ENLIGHTENED THEM ON THE U.F. GOVERNMENT'S COMMON MINIMUM PROGRAMME AND ITS OWN VIEWS ON THE ECONOMIC REFORMS IN INDIA IN 1991 AND EXPRESSED HIS VIEWS AND THEIR LIMITATIONS IN SO FAR AS THE WEAKER SECTIONS OF SOCIETY IS CONCERNED. HE ALSO EXPRESSED HIS RESERVATIONS ON THE PROGRAMME ON GLOBALISATION, LIBERALISATION AND PRIVATISATION. THE OTHER QUESTIONS HE TOUCHED UPON WERE RELATING TO UP ELECTIONS, SECULARISM IN INDIA. THE HON'BLE MP SAID THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT IS FOLLOWING A VALUE-BASED POLICY AND IT STANDS FOR SECULARISM AND ALWAYS RISES AGAINST COMMUNALISM, PARTICULARLY AGAINST THE COMMUNALISM OF THE MAJORITY GROUP WHICH POSES GRAVE DANGER TO THE COUNTRY.



1978 IN PARLIAMENT ON THE DEATH OF NETAJI. WHAT THE HON'BLE MP WANTED FROM THE RUSSIAN SIDE IS TO HAVE A CLEAR STATEMENT REGARDING NETAJI'S DEATH WHICH, ACCORDING TO HIM, WILL HELP STRENGTHENING INDIA-RUSSIA RELATIONS A LOT AT THE PEOPLE'S LEVEL. PROF. MITROKHIN INFORMED THE LEADER OF THE FORWARD BLOC PARTY, MR. BASU, THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER PREMAKHOV, WHEN HE WAS INSTITUTE DIRECTOR, HIMSELF MADE AN EFFORT TO KNOW THE EXACT POSITION ABOUT NETAJI'S STAY IN RUSSIA. HE ALSO INFORMED THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN DOCUMENTS REGARDING NETAJI'S ARRIVAL AND PASSING THROUGH RUSSIA FROM AFGHANISTAN ~~THROUGH~~ GERMANY ARE AVAILABLE. IT MAY BE NECESSARY FOR HIM TO GO TO IRKUSK REGION TO SEARCH AND FIND OUT ANY DETAILS, IF AVAILABLE, REGARDING NETAJI'S DEATH IN RUSSIA.

10. PROF. MITROKHIN THEN ACCOMPANIED HIM TO ROERICH MEMORIAL ROOM AND LIBRARY IN THE INSTITUTE WHICH HAS A VERY SPECIAL COLLECTION OF IMPORTANT AND RARE BOOKS GIFTED BY THE ROERICH FAMILY. HE ALSO INFORMED THE MP THAT THE THREE GREAT ROERICH FAMILY MEMBERS' GRAVES ARE IN INDIA, I. E. IN KULU, BANGALORE AND DARJEELING.

ON COOPERATION OF SMALL BUSINESSES AND CONSUMER INDUSTRIES ETC. IN RUSSIA. HE



# NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE



AIDE-MEMOIRE  
TO UNRAVEL THE MYSTERY OF HIS DISAPPEARANCE



# NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

## AIDE-MEMOIRE

### TO UNRAVEL THE MYSTERY OF HIS DISAPPEARANCE

Ex-Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, Mr. G. D. Khosla, one man Commission of Inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, was appointed as such by the Central Government Notification No. 25/14/80-Poll-II, dated 11th July, 1970, to—

"Inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith and make its report to the Central Government".

**A. After exactly 4 years, Justice Khosla submitted his report to the Central Government on 30th June, 1974 and his findings inter alia are :**

On 18th August, 1945,

(xiii) "The plane took off at 2.35 p.m. but within a few seconds one of the engines blew out and the plane crashed near the fringe of the TAIHOKU air field. The body of the plane broke into two parts and caught fire".

(xiv) "Bose had sustained burn injuries of the 3rd degree and despite the efforts of the doctors to revive him, he succumbed to his injuries the same night."

(xix) "There is no reason for believing that the relations between Nehru and Bose were any thing but friendly on a personal basis".

(xx) "There is not the slightest evidence of any attempt by Nehru to suppress the truth about Bose at any stage or to make false statements about his death at TAIHOKU on August 18, 1945. His concession to a public demand for enquiry was an instance of his compliance with democratic procedures and not an admission of his disbelief in the truth of crash story".

(xxii) "There is no evidence of any attempt by the present Government to withhold evidence on place impediments in the way of this Commission".



(xxiii) "The Japanese, however, looked upon him (Netaji) not as an equal ally, but as a person whom they could use for their own ends".

From the above, it is clear to any intelligent person that the last four findings have no relevance vis-a-vis the terms of reference i. e., to enquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith.

Then why these and many other irrelevant findings were given by Justice Khosla? Why also then in undue and unseemly haste, Justice Khosla has brought out a book called "Last Days of Netaji", where he quotes with approval the following at page 184?

DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI (it is sweet and fitting to die for one's country) and makes the following brazen, atrocious, untrue and uncalled for remarks about Netaji's relation with the Japanese?

"They could not but consider him as something only a little more than a puppet" (page 30 of the Report.) "They showed little respect to him" (page 162 of the Book). "From the beginning they had wanted him as their tool, a pawn in their hands who could be made to move in compliance with their schemes and wishes" (page 168 of the Book).

The above remarks about the "Prince among the patriots" (Gandhiji said that about Netaji) have found place in his report too. It can be said unhesitatingly that all the above remarks and findings are against the tenor of the evidence produced before Justice Khosla.

Let us now discuss Mr. Khosla's findings No. (XIX) and (XX).

Not a single document was placed or oral evidence was adduced in support of the above findings. On the contrary, massive documents and evidence, of both Indian and Japanese, were placed against the above findings of Mr. G. D. Khosla.

(xix) News of Nehru's statements against Netaji, published in several national dailies from the period 1939 to 1946, will bear out the fact once for all that the relationship between Nehru and Netaji was far from friendly.



(xx) There is documentary evidence that Nehru suppressed a number of his 'confidential' files relating to "Investigation into the circumstances leading to the death of Subhas Chandra Bose". The facts were revealed when an Affidavit was sworn before Netaji Inquiry Commission (1970) for discovery of some connected documents relating to the 'circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945.....and subsequent developments connected therewith.....' Nehru did not place those files before the Netaji Inquiry Committee (1956).

Those Files were lying with the then Prime Minister's Secretariat. He did not allow the Committee to Visit Formosa (TAIHOKU) also.

It can be said with ample justification that Mr. Khosla's interpretation of Nehru's so-called 'concession to a public demand for enquiry' as indicative of Nehru's belief in the truth of the air crash story, is nowhere near the truth. In a letter to Sri Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Nehru expressed that the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee cannot be accepted and "something should be done to finalise this matter." He told Amiya Nath Bose (witness No. 182) that he (Nehru) had seen some secret records which "he had subsequently received". But those records were not submitted before Khosla Commission.

On September 11, 1945, Nehru himself told a Press Reporter of API at Jhansi that like many other people, he did not believe the story about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose. He said, I have received a number of reports which have raised in me grave doubts and I disbelieve the authenticity of the news". And those reports were suppressed and never produced before the Netaji Inquiry Committee (1956) and Netaji Inquiry Commission (1970).

Also a question can be raised as to why Nehru told late Surendra Mohon Ghosh (witness No. 154), a Veteran revolutionary leader (who knew Netaji from his boyhood) and an ex-M. P., to enquire whether the Sadhu of Saulmari was Netaji. He also further instructed Mr. Ghosh to ascertain whether the Sadhu knew the German language, as Subhas knew the German language very well (Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission).



The British intelligence informed their Government that Pandit Nehru "received a secret communication from Bose". This report was corroborated by Sri Shyamlal Jain (witness No. 21) while he deposed before Khosla Commission. In 1945-46 Sri Jain was working as a confidential steno of INA Defence Committee. He said "On or about November-December, 1945 Jawaharlal Nehru gave him four papers from his writing pad to make four copies of a letter, which he would dictate to me on typewriters, which I also complied. The contents of the letter as far as I could remember were as follows :

"Dear Mr. Atlee,

I understand from a reliable source that Subhas Chandra Bose, your war Criminal has been allowed to enter Russian territory by Stalin. This is a clear treachery and betrayal of faith by Russians. As Russia has been an Ally of the British-Americans, it should not have been done.

Please take note of it and do what you consider proper and fit.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru"

The above mentioned evidence was never denied, nor controverted and or successfully challenged at any time either before the Commission (1970) or in public.

Does it not sufficiently prove that Nehru's relations with Netaji was far from friendly ?

B. NETAJI'S PLAN FOR ENTERING RUSSIA VIA MANCHURIA :

**Findings by G. D. Khosla One-man Commission of Netaji Inquiry (1970) :**

i) "Bose was informed on August 12, 1945, that the War was about to conclude and the Japanese had decided to surrender to the Allied Forces. He was at that time at Saramban. The Message was brought to him there by Negishi (Witness No. 50)".

ii) "Bose at once left for Singapore where he discussed his future plans with his colleagues and the Ministers of his Cabinet, almost day and night. Final



decision was taken on 14th when Sakai arrived and conferred with Bose. It was decided that Bose himself should leave Singapore and try to escape to Russia where he hoped to find asylum."

iii) "On the morning of 16-8-1945, Bose left Singapore accompanied by Col. Habibur Rahman, S. A. Iyer (Witness No. 29), a Japanese Liaison Officer Negishi (Witness No. 50), Col. Pritam Singh (Witness No. 155) and others. The party arrived at Bangkok at 3-30 p.m. and spent the night there".

iv) "At about 8 a.m. on August 17, 1945, Bose and party left by two planes for Saigon. Bose's party included Col. Habibur Rahman, Deb Nath Das (Witness No. 3), Isoda (Witness No. 68), S. A. Iyer (Witness No. 29), Hachiya (Witness No. 51), Gulzara Singh (Witness No. 153), Col. Pritam Singh (Witness No. 155), Abid Hussain (Witness No. 157) and others. The party arrived at Saigon at 11 a.m."

v) Mr. G. D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, refused to consider the evidence of Habibur Rahman, before British Intelligence (29-9-45) and Netaji Inquiry Committee (1956) on 6-4-56, as admissible according to Evidence Act. In course of argument, he declared that Habibur Rahman's evidence was non-est. In spite of the fact, Mr. Khosla religiously recorded various events of the narrated story not relying in any way on the evidence of the Japanese witnesses of 'convincing truth', but wholly relying on Habibur Rahman's evidence.

**Sri Suresh Chandra Bose, a non-official member of the Netaji Inquiry Committee (1956), observed :**

"As early as 1944, Netaji foresaw that the Japanese nation would have to surrender and that it was only a question of time. As the main object of his life was to continue his struggle for the liberation of India and as he could not do the same in those countries in the East, as they would come under the occupation of the victorious British and American forces and as for the same purpose and for the same reason, he could not continue his work also in Japan, he considered Russia to be a convenient and suitable country for his next future



activities. He accordingly, started making contacts with the Russian Ambassador in Japan".

**Sri Shah Nawaz Khan and Sri S. N. Maitra, Chairman & Official Member of Netaji Inquiry Committee (1956) observed :**

"Netaji felt that for him it would be good policy to take shelter in Russia, from where he could come out in time to continue his war of liberation against the British.....He asked Mr. Sahay to go to Tokyo and try to establish contact with the Soviet Ambassador there, Mr. Jacob Malik.....An Official reference was made to the Government of Japan by Netaji to contact the Russian authorities on his behalf." Japanese Government's reply which was received sometime in June, 1945. Mr. Debnath Das has stated that about this time several alternative plans were considered. The first was to go to India and prepare for an armed revolution inside the country : Alternative, to go to Yenan (Communist China) : And thirdly, to try and contact the Russians through the Japanese. The third alternative seemed to have found favour with Netaji..... Manchuria, which was next door, and held by the Japanese forces, was increasingly considered as the best place to move to".

**C. Statement of Japanese Witnesses (about the Plan of Netaji to go to Manchuria) before Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission :**

i) Gen. Isoda (Chief of Hikari Kikan) said that it was Hikari Kikan's plan to allow Bose to escape and to publish a false story regarding his death (Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission-Page 3016). Mr. T. Hachiya (the Japanese Minister to the Azad Hind Government), Mr. T. Negishi (Japanese interpreter attached to Netaji), corroborated that the plan of Netaji was to go to Russia via Manchuria.

ii) General Isoda has stated that the plane arranged for Netaji was a brand new bomber and that its take-off from Saigon aerodrome was quite normal and which has also been confirmed by Messrs. T. Hachiya, T. Negishi, Shri S. A. Iyer and others who were present there.



iii) Gen. Isoda told Khosla Commission : "It was finally decided in that meeting (at Bangkok) that Netaji will go to Russia via Manchuria and the Japanese Government will give him monetary and other help." He further said, "He knew it definitely that Netaji was going to Russia" and added, "He was going to Russia via Saigon.....There was no plan to stay at Saigon."

iv) All the Japanese and I. N. A. witnesses told Khosla Commission that Netaji had a secret meeting with Gen. Isoda and Mr. Hachiya at Bangkok and later he asked Habibur Rahman to join it. Habibur Rahman totally suppressed this fact from the British Intelligence team.

Hachiya (Japanese Ambassador to Azad Hind Government) told Mr. Khosla, "I met Netaji at Bangkok and told him that I have got a message from the Government of Japan. They said they are very grateful to you (Bose) and they have asked me to know from you, whether the Government of Japan could be of any help to you". During cross-examination Hachiya said that he "informed Netaji that the Government of Japan was willing to make arrangements for shifting him to some safe area".

v) Iyer wrote in his book UNTO HIM A WITNESS at Page-68, "General Isoda, Mr. Hachiya and a Senior Staff Officer of Field Marshal Terauchi stepped out of the car, walked briskly into the house where Netaji shook hands with them and immediately ushered them into one of the rooms. Habibur Rahman was also asked to join the fateful conference (17-8-1945). I do not know exactly what transpired at the conference, because I was not present".

At page-69, he further wrote, "But where was Netaji going ? We did not ask him and he did not tell us. But we knew and he knew that we knew. The plane was bound for Manchuria".

#### D. FINDING OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE :

a) "Bose considered that the Russian attitude was always in favour of India and her independence, and that at any time she might interfere on behalf of P.G.I. (249/INA G.H.Q. Case on Bose and Russia).



b) "S. C. Bose was preparing to leave for Moscow in order to place all information about the Indian Freedom Movement before the leaders of the U.S.S.R. It was also said that Col. S. A. Malik would follow S. C. Bose to Moscow, B 766 heard the news from Lt. Subrammaniam (then Adjutant of the YE-U Rest Camp). In December, 1944, Lt. Sadhu Singh of H.Q.I. Div. I.N.A, who was acting as Q.M. of the YE-U Rest Camp, informed B 766 that S. C. Bose had left for Moscow and was soon expected back in TOKYO". (Secret File No. 24 9-INA-II (H) G.H. Q. case on Subhas Chandra Bose).

c) "...There was no need for the Japanese to ask the Russians for Bose's entry because Bose wanted to go to Manchuria from where he thought he would be able to get in touch with the Russian Forces", (Head Quarter Main File-273 I.N.A.-10 Misc.)

d) "On 16th August S. C. Bose came to Bangkok by a plane specially made for him by the Japanese. It is also suspicious that Bose had to change plane at Saigon and go on in another plane with one of his staff Officers. It would appear more likely that a person of Bose's importance would still be allowed to travel in his own special aircraft". (H.Q. Main File 273 I.N.A. 10 Misc.)

e) "Bose had been trying to persuade the Japanese to allow him to go to Manchuria since October, 1944, when they told him that they had no chance of invading India through Burma and that therefore, he was prepared to try another road to Delhi via Moscow. Reference should be made to HIKARI'S telegram at the time Bose arrived in Saigon. Isoda was also there and this fact may be significant that there was a plan on the part of HIKARI KIKAN to allow Bose to escape and to publish a false story regarding his death. This would have been the ideal place for ISODA (Chief of Hikari Kikan) to put into operation any such plan.....these are part of a colossal and well executed deception manoeuvre. This file of Telegrams along with numerous other documents must have been purposely left for the British to find them. Although at this stage one cannot rule out the possibility of Bose being still alive, this file of telegrams contains four and



most important one, which gives an idea of the plan to allow Bose to escape and to publish a false story regarding his death". (H.Q. Main File 10 MISC INA 273 subjects Subhas Chandra Bose, Page-10).

TOP SECRET 4 SIGNALS OF HIKARI KIKAN REGARDING MOVEMENTS OF  
NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SEATIC Section  
Intelligence Assault Unit.  
7th Ind Div SLF SIAM

24th September, 1945.

Subject : Translation of messages for death of Bose found in a file of reports belonging to the HIKARI KIKAN.

"TOP SECRET"

1. HIKARI KIKAN SIGNAL RE : "T" (TN : Bose)

August 18

To : OC HIKARI KIKAN

FROM : Chief of Staff, Southern Army,  
Southern Army Signal 303.

Today at 1700 hrs (17 Aug) 'T' with Lt. Gen Shidei  
and others, left here for TOKYO VIA FORMOSA and DAIREN.

Inform Indian Community of this

Depending on circumstances, I expect to return in two or three days.  
(from OC KIKAN)

2. TO : OC KIKAN

FROM : Chief of Staff Southern Army.

Southern Army Staff II Signal 66 20th Aug. "TOP SECRET"

"T" while on the way to the capital, as a result of an accident to this Aircraft at TAIHOKU at 1400 hrs on the 18th was seriously injured and died at midnight on the same date. His body has been flown to TOKYO by the Formosan Army



I have thanked the Formosan Army, for their kindness. Further I have asked that proof of his death in the plane accident remains, photographs etc.-be collected.

As for the centre, I am getting Staff Officer TADA, who leaves SAIGON on the 20th to take up an appointment, to provide them with a detailed report. I wish secrecy to be maintained in handling the matter.

3. HIKARI KIKAN SIGNAL RE : 'T'

24 Aug. 1945

TO : OC MALAY Branch (TN : not clear)

OC SAIGON EMBARKATION POINT

Chief of Staff, Southern Army.

FROM : OC HIKARI KIKAN

Re : Death of 'T' please ensure that Indian communities are informed of the DOMEI despatch reporting 'T', death.

Document 128

4. HIKARI Message 1020

27 Aug. 1945

TO : CHIEF OF Staff, Southern Army

FROM : OC HIKARI KIKAN

Request urgently the report on the later progress of Col. 'HABIB RAHMAN'.  
N.B. These messages were found in the ordinary file in their proper place and numbered and docketed in the usual manner. There was nothing suspicious about them and they did not appear to be interpolations.

Signals Nos. 4, 5, and 6

SEATIC DOCUMENT 128

DM  
pp S. Hyder  
Capt.  
OC Section



f) "It was noteworthy that No. 1 message was sent by Lt. Gen. ISODA himself who was in Saigon at the time. The message was not sent until 18 August.....in view of the fact that the Signal was given an 'URGENT' priority, it seems obvious that in actual fact the Signal Originated on 18 August, 1945" [Secret No. 63/2/10 G.S I. (b) HQ. SACSEA COMMISSION No. 1, Saigon, 18th October, 1945]

g) ".....Possible that ISODA had come here (Saigon) to workout and co-ordinate his 'deception plan' with Lt. Gen. NIMATA and he stayed on until this plan had been executed under his personal supervision". [Secret No. 63/2/10 G.S. (b) H.Q. SACSEA COMMISSION, 18th October, 1945] Lt. Gen. ISODA (Chief of Hikari Kikan). "The purpose of his (Netaji's) flight was to go to Soviet Union. He was going to Russia via Saigon." [Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission 1970].

h) Col. Tada, one of the Staff Officers of the F.M. Terauchi, (Supreme Commander, Japanese South East Asia Command) told, "after the end of the war when Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibilities to help Netaji and asked him to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory all help will be given to him. It was arranged that Chandra Bose will fly in the plane in which Shidei was going, General Shidei will look after Chandra Bose upto Dairen, and thereafter, he could fall back on his own resources to contact Russians. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had 'disappeared' from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibilities in the eyes of the Allies". (Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission 1970).

i) Mr. Finney, the Director of Intelligence Bureau of the British Government attached to Mac Arthur's Head Quarters at Tokyo, in an urgent message from Bangkok informed his higher authority in India: "on November 12, 1945, he examined a man named K. Watanabe, who was working as an interpreter in Hikari Kikan. Watanabe told him that on August 16 or 17, 1945 he was asked to work as interpreter in a meeting held at the residence of Isoda, between Isoda



and Subhas Chandra Bose, who was accompanied by Major Bhonsle and Lt. Col. Habibur Rahman. The meeting ended before Watanabe reached there. Isoda talked without any interpreter. They discussed how Bose could be sent to his destination. That Bose's was going to Russia was more or less known, - perhaps it was Manchuria."

j) Mr. Finney, in that message, informed his higher authority, "It was an understood thing in the Embassy and in Hikari Kikan that he (Bose) was going to hand over himself to the Russians in Russia". (Khosla Commission-Exhibit No. Com. 28/V)

k) After receiving this message, Intelligence team resume fresh interrogation of General Bhonsle. The team recorded: "What we feared, it happened exactly so. But he (Bhonsle) admitted that he himself and Habibur Rahman, Lt. Gen. Isoda and Col. Kagawa had a meeting with Bose. He also admitted that they discussed how Bose could be sent to his destination. Bhonsle further admitted that Bose had the intention to go to Russia.....But it appeared that he (Bhonsle) was not willing to say much about the matter. Avoiding related questions, he only said, If anybody of his trusted men knew anything about the real plan of Netaji then none will say it now."

This Report was made by Lt. Col. Mckwright (Exhibit No. Com./28/S.

l) On instruction from Lt. Col. Mckwright Habibur Rahman was further interrogated. The report produced before Khosla Commission says: "Habibur Rahman refused to say anything more than he told earlier. He denied about secret meeting at Bangkok and said that the main topic discussed in that meeting was the issue of surrender of I.N.A. He said only this that in course of discussion there, one Japanese Officer wanted to know what was the intention of Bose. They once told him about shifting Bose to Russia,.....Bose told the Japanese that he had taken decision to surrender at Singapore along with I.N.A.....It appears that Habibur Rahman is not willing to come out with the truth." (Secrat No. 1400/23/S/E/Red Fort/New Delhi/25 March 1946 : Exhibit No. Com. 28/R.)



**E. This extraordinary man (Netaji) "vanished" many times before 18th August, 1945 and if he did not chose to reveal his whereabouts even his closest relations and associates would not and could not know where he was.**

i) At the age of 18, according to late Sri Bhasin, the Commission's Counsel, he was swept by a spiritual urge within which made him leave his house surreptitiously, **whithout anyone getting a wind of it**, in search of a Guru.

ii) In 1941, during the height of 2nd World War, while being in house internment, his extra-ordinary feat of escape from Elgin Road, Calcutta to Kabul, Russia and Germany, **without anyone being taken into confidence about the total plan** and without having the assistance of an organised group of people like the I.N.A.

iii) In 1943, the historical 90 days' submarine voyage from Kiel to Singapore, with a change of Sub-Marine at Madagascar in the turbulent seas without the Allies knowing anything about it. Further, not a single member of the German crew of the submarine knew who he was, though he used to give discourse on The Gita to them everyday, during this long voyage.

iv) His arrival at Singapore was kept such a close secret that before his presence was announced in the public meeting at the Parade Ground, Singapore very few people knew that their would be Supreme Commander was already there.

**F. Netaji foresaw much before August, 1945 that Axis powers were going to be defeated in the 2nd World War.**

a) As early as 1942 Netaji knew that Allies would be winning. In the last autumn of 1942, he told German Admiral Canaris, "You know as well as I do that Germany cannot win this war. But this time victorious Britain will loose India". According to late Bhasin : "Such was his assessment of the situation at home and abroad, and how correct".

b) Sri Shah Nawaz Khan, in his evidence, confided that as early as 1944 Netaji clearly vjsualised that Axis powers were losing the war. He said on oath



that Netaji said in October-November, 1944 in a Cabinet meeting "Axis powers would lose and the Anglo-Americans would win".

c) Sri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, who knew Sri Subhas Chandra Bose (Netaji) intimately, in his evidence, deposed that Netaji was of very secretive nature.

**G. Realising as early as 1942 or as late as 1944 what would be the outcome of war, what this 'PAST MASTER' of planning would do ?**

**There is massive evidence to show that he did plan to shift his area of operation to Soviet Russia, Indo China or China :**

Though none seemed to know the inner core of the plan many knew barely that there were plans for shifting the area of liberation movement. While Sri Shah Nawaz Khan said that even as early as 1944, Netaji was trying to contact Russians and Ho Chi Minh so that war of liberation continued from there, Sri S. A. Iyer, Minister of Publicity and Propaganda, Azad Hind Govt. and Sri E. Bhaskaran, Netaji's confidential secretary, deposed that "It was decided that base for liberation struggle should be shifted to Russia". Sri Deb Nath Das, Syed Samsul Zaman, General Secretary I.I.L. Northern Shan State, Sri V. C. Sharma, Sri S. C. Sen Gupta, Sri M. S. Doshi, Col. Thakur Singh, Mr. Tara Kono, Lt. Gen. Isoda, head of the Hikari Kikan, Lt. Col. TakaKura, Maj. Gen. S. C. Allagappan, Dr. S. Vasava Menon, Dr. B. Rama Chandra Rao, Sri S. S. Virik, Asstt. Manager of Air-India, Sri Gandhi Nathan, Sri S. Ishwar Singh, Col. Pritam Singh, Dr. R. N. Kasliwal, Sri A. M. Sahay and many others deposed that there were plans to shift the area of operation to Russia, China, Indo-China and even to India. According to Sri A. M. Sahay, near the end of 1944, he left Rangoon for Shanghai and set up a Territorial Committee with headquarters at Shanghai and branches in Canton, Tintoi and other towns in Manchuria. The witness established an office at Hanoi with a view to contacting the Chinese and Russian Communists and met Ho Chi Minh in this connection. [Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Committee (1956) and Netaji Inquiry Commission (1970)].



Long before the war ended, realising the ultimate defeat of the Axis powers, this master planner planned to shift his area of operation and it was not a last minute haphazard plan as Justice Khosla wants us to believe. Further than that, it has come on evidence that the 'plane crash story was a part of a strategy' so that victorious Anglo-Americans could not be on his heels.

(iii) Sri U. C. Sharma, Sri S. C. Sen Gupta of secret service, Dr. B. Rama Chandra Rao and Sri Deb Nath Das deposed that plane crash story was only "a cover". Even Sri Amiya Nath Bose, during his visit to Japan and discussions with Japanese officials, learnt that there was a plan of landing Netaji at Port Dairen and announcing to the world that Netaji died in a plane crash. Sri E. Bhaskaran, confidential secretary to Netaji, deposed that Netaji dictated a long letter to John Thlvy, on 17th August, 1945, early morning in the following terms "I am writing all this to you as I am on the eve of taking a long journey by Air and **who knows an accident may not overtake me**".

**H. It was proved abundantly that not only that there was a plan to shift the area of operation, but that the plane crash story was an integral part of such strategy :**

Justice Khosla said on one occasion : "If there was a plan like this, it is a very strong argument against the findings of the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee". He further said, "If the existence of such a plan is established it will go a long way to prove that Netaji did not die in a crash". (Vol. II, Pages 499 and 500 dated 4-11-70)

**I. There was plethora of evidence from high and low, pointing to a very peculiar trait of Netaji's character. that is, he was of very secretive nature and therefore the execution part of the plan of escape was known to very few. Amongst the Indians none except perhaps Col. Habibur Rahaman was taken into confidence.**

Shah Nawaz Khan's evidence is : "It was entirely for Netaji to discuss what he wanted".

Sri S. A. Iyer, Propaganda and Publicity Minister of the Azad Hind Government does not hesitate to confide that he did not know the members of



the Secret Service of I.N.A. He further said : "Netaji was very reticent about the discussion of things that did not concern the particular person and did not take me into confidence as to what he discussed with the Japanese Government". He further says : **"Inner plan was not known to most of the Cabinet Ministers"**.

Sri S. T. Mehtani's evidence is very revealing. He says : "Netaji was a very secretive person and he never discussed his plans even with his Cabinet colleagues. All the time he was under mystery. Even till the last moment, nobody would know where he was going".

This has been the evidence of Sri S. C. Sen Gupta, Mr. Negishi, a Japanese businessman, Col. Gulzara Singh, Sri Deb Nath Das, and many others.

Sardar Niranjana Singh Talib, ex. M. P., a close associate of Netaji and ex. President of Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee said unhesitatingly that Netaji was determined not to disclose his top secrets even to his Colleagues. Lt. Col. Taka Kura, who was Staff Officer at the Imperial Gen. H. Q., Tokyo, is forced to admit that "Perhaps nobody knew by what plane he was coming".

**J. But why was all this secrecy ? Answer is not far to seek.**

i) Netaji was by nature a secretive person and never divulged more than necessary minimum information to even a confidant.

ii) He became more secretive because Axis powers were losing and he had to shift his liberation movement to some other soil without Allies getting any wind of it. There was another reason.

iii) The secrecy was all the more necessary when it was on record that information about every movement of I.N.A., at this crucial stage, was passed on to the Allies by some very high I.N.A. personnel.

iv) Col. Thakur Singh and Sri A. M. Sahay admitted that there were few cases of defection. Sri S. C. Sengupta, the intelligence officer, who was very close to Netaji, said on oath that it was within Netaji's knowledge that some traitors were dropped in the war front to liquidate Netaji and Netaji told him : "one of the high ranking officers had deserted us".

v) This secrecy was necessary as an abundant caution.



**K. This is why none, except, perhaps, with the honourable exception of Col. Habibur Rahman amongst the Indians, was taken into confidence about the ultimate plan of Netaji. Why Habibur Rahman ? Was it an accidental choice ?**

i) He was chosen by Netaji and Netaji alone because of his being (a) Deputy Chief of Staff, whose words about crash etc. could not have been doubted by the pursuing Anglo-American forces ; because of his (b) unquestionable loyalty to Netaji and as such (c) his capacity to keep a secret as a secret.

ii) While Sri A. M. Sahay says that Col. Habibur Rahman had such deep sense of loyalty for Netaji that he would not hesitate to tell lies for the safety of Netaji.

iii) Legendary Maj. Abid Hassan, who perhaps was the only Indian with Netaji in his historic Submarine voyage from Germany to Singapore says : "For finding out whether that accident took place or not, that one person could not be Habibur Rahman.

iv) Col. Pritam Singh, deposed that Rahman was under an oath of secrecy to Netaji and he would never give any information about him. Col. Thakur Singh and Sri K. V. Narain say that Col. Habibur Rahman's devotion to Netaji was such that he would never tell the truth about Netaji's whereabouts.

v) What does Shah Nawaz Khan say about Habib in Vol. I at pages 63 to 74 of his evidence ? "He (Habibur Rahman) was so devoted to Netaji that he would not have hesitated one minute even to sacrifice his life at that time. He was deeply devoted to Netaji and any order or instruction given to him he would faithfully carry out, even **at the cost of his life**. He is of that type".

vi) "Col. Mahboob Ahmod who was Chief of Protceol and Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affaires, Government of India and becamas our Ambassador for quite a number of years deposed in Vol. V at page 1917 to the following effects "He (Habibur Rahman) is one of those officers who would do anything for Netaji". At page 1922 there is an interesting piece of evidence.



Sri P. K. Bose ; "If a secret was entrusted to Col. Habibur Rahman in your estimation, his character is such that he will keep it a secret all his life, unless countermanded by Netaji himself". Col. Ahmed : "That is my assessment of Habibur Rahman".

vii) Sri S. A. Iyer confirms at page 4072 of his evidence that on his last known journey Netaji took Habibur Rahman with him **without consulting anyone.**

viii) After interrogation of Col. Habibur Rahman, the Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi, on May 19, 1946 (No. C-5 Page 5), recorded, "Habibur Rahman's report is unsatisfactory. The multitude of discrepancies in accounts of actual air crash as given first to CIC in Tokyo and later to CSDIC, is being taken up.....".

ix) Sri S. C. Sen Gupta of secret service of I.N.A. confides that in that fateful secret meeting of 17th August, 1945 (even today none, except the participants, knows what transpired in that meeting) only Habibur Rahman amongst the Indians and some top Japanese Officers conferred with Netaji.

Can any one now fail to realise why Col. Habibur Rahman was the lone Indian companion of Netaji "in his journey to the unknown". ?

#### **L. The plane crash story was a put up story and did not stand scrutiny.**

Massive evidence was analysed to bring home the truth that from this evidence no sensible person far less a judicial person could come to the conclusion that there was a plane crash or that Netaji died in such a plane crash.

i) The alleged occupants of the plane gave contradictory versions about the seating arrangements. Why ? It is admitted fact that neither there was any seat nor seatbelt. If on the top of that, plane actually crashed the way it is said to have nose dived then all the passengers falling in a heap with luggage falling over them and fire breaking out, there could not be a single survivor in such a plane crash. But miracle of miracles ; 7 or 8 persons survived with very minor injuries so that they could give evidence in details about the plane crash and Netaji's alleged death before the Inquiry Committee and the Commission.



ii) None of these so-called surviving co-passengers saw Netaji actually dying and none of them knew Netaji before 17th August, 1945. About the air-crash and its impact their depositions are at such variance from one another that their evidentiary value is non est. Is it conceivable that in his journey from Taihoku the head of the Azad Hind Government will not be accompanied by a single Japanese officer, known to him who would be able, at least, to identify him? Did not the protocol demand that the head of a State, while travelling, is accompanied?

iii) It is on record that even on 17th August, 1945 Netaji was closetted with Lt. Gen. Isoda, the head of the Hikari Kikan, Col. Tada a Staff Officer attached to Field Marshal Count Terauchi's Headquarters and Mr. Hachiya, the Japanese Government representative to Netaji's Azad Hind Government.

iv) Apart from the evidence of Dr. Yoshimi and Dr. Tsuruta (of which the less said the better) all evidence given on Netaji's alleged death was hearsay evidence and non acceptable in a Court of Law. Lt. Gen. Fujiwara, Mr. Tadashi Ando, Lt. Col. Tadao Sakai, Mr. Negishi, Mr. Hachiya, Lt. Col. Takamiya, Col. Nonogaki, Mr. Watanabe, Maj. Takahashi, Lt. Gen. Isoda, Lt. Col. Shibuya—all **said without exception that they had no personal knowledge about the alleged death of Netaji.**

v) Sri S. A. Iyer, the publicity and propaganda Minister of Azad Hind Government, was told by the Japanese on the 20/21 August, (i.e. after three days of alleged crash) that he would be taken to the place of plane crash and shown Netaji's body. But in spite of his repeated requests and repeated assurances by the Japanese he was never taken there. What does it prove? It is simple to prove that as there was no plane crash, the Japanese naturally were unable to take him to the site of the non existant plane crash. Curiously enough, the same Iyer without further verification, drafted the news of plane crash and Netaji's death which was published by the Domei News Agency.



v) Sri Iyer told the Japanese Military Officer : ".....not a single Indian in East Asia or in India would be prepared to believe what the Japanese might say about Netaji's Plane-Crash unless they produced convincing proof of the accident." (Unto Him A Witness-Pages-99 & 100)

Sri Ayer confessed : "Then they wanted me to draft the announcement. I dictated a draft and asked them to show me the final draft before announcing it. "Frankly speaking, I was not inclined to believe their story at that moment.....".

And on that news item mainly, which was hearsay on hearsay, Mr. Khosla was satisfied about the plane crash and Netaji's death, though not a single piece of documentary evidence i.e. the passenger list, flight Chart, weather report etc. has been produced to prove that even a single plane flew in the skies of Taihoku (Formosa) on the 18th of August, 1945. As even the plane flight has not been proved, it logically follows that the so called plane crash and Netaji's death have not also been proved.

vi) Another extraordinary feature of the evidence is that the identity of the so called copassengers and the so called doctors was not checked, following the ordinary legal procedures. Therefore, if the oral evidence is non est and documentary evidence is scarce, what remains of the evidence of plane crash and death? Nothing excepting Iyer's drafting the news which was hearsay on hearsay and which was published by Domei News Agency as being authentic.

vi) A comparative CHART of the news of the alleged plane-crash and Netaji's alleged death circulated by different Agencies is given below :



## THE ALLEGED DEATH NEWS OF NETAJI CIRCULATED BY DIFFERENT NEWS AGENCIES

TO O C KIKAN

FROM : Chief of Staff Southern Army  
Southern Army Staff II  
SIGNAL 66, 20th Aug. '45

"TOP SECRET"

- a) "T" while on his way to the Capital (TOKYO), as a result of an accident to this Aircraft at TAIHOKU at 14.00 hrs. on the 18th was seriously injured and died at MIDNIGHT on the same day.
  - b) His body has been flown to Tokyo by the Formosan Army.
  - c) NO MENTION
- SEATIC SECTION  
Intelligence Assault Unit  
7th Ind Div ALF SIAM  
24th September, 1945

Announcement by  
DOMEI NEWS AGENCY on  
23rd August, 1945

Mr. Bose.....left Singapore on August 16 by Air for Tokyo for talks with the Japanese Government. He was seriously injured when his plane crashed at TAIHOKU air field.

He was given treatment in Hospital in JAPAN where he died at midnight.

Lt. General TSUNAMASA SHIDEI was instantaneously killed, and Col. Habib-Ur-Rahman.....and four other Japanese officers were injured in the crash.

Statement issued by  
Information Service of India-Tokyo  
Published on August 24, 1945 in  
ASAHI HSIMBUM

Mr. Chandra Bose.....met an air accident in the outskirt of Taipeh airport at 14.00 hrs. on August 18 and sustained severe injuries.

He was treated at the Hospital on the spot but passed away at midnight on August 18,

Col. Habibur Rahman, Mr. Bose's aide who had been accompanying him, sustained a severe injury and Lt. Genl. Shidei killed instantly. Four Officers suffered serious or otherwise minor injuries.



vii) Two Intelligence teams were sent to South Asia in September, 1945, under the command of two British Officers, with a warrant of arrest against Netaji. Sri Sashadhar Majumder of I. B. West Bengal, deposed that two Intelligence teams were sent to Bangkok in September, 1945 to investigate about Netaji's alleged death. Sri Himangsu Roy, a member of one of those teams, said at page 434 of the Netaji Inquiry Commission (1970) : **"We were sent to arrest Netaji"**.

Sri Kalipada Dey, another member of the team, said in his evidence that they, after investigation, had no direct evidence about Netaji's death.

**M. The Japanese were and are very photo minded :**

a) It is in evidence that Netaji could not escape the onslaught of a Camera even while going in or coming out of the bathroom. But there is not a single photo produced of dead Netaji. If Netaji actually died then there was every reason for the Japanese to take innumerable photos of the dead body and show these to the world, as a convincing piece of evidence of his death.

b) As no harm could have been done to a dead body, the Japanese in the event of his death on 18th August, 1945 i.e. 3 days after the Japanese surrender, would have kept his body and shown the same to the Allies, which might give an opportunity to the vanquished Japanese to negotiate for better terms with the victorious Allies.

c) If Netaji actually died why should they i.e. the Japanese keep this in such mystery-when this mystery neither served their cause nor did it serve Netaji's cause (if he was dead) ?

d) Though the so-called co-passengers admittedly never knew Netaji before the date of the so called plane journey, it is interesting that none of the confidants of the crucial closed door 17th August meeting was an eye witness to the alleged plane crash.



e) As it was already urged that Netaji was shifting his area of operation according to his plan, it was pointed out that pilot, co-pilot, engineer, navigator and Gen. Shidei, who were shown to be dead alongwith Netaji in the alleged plane crash, were, and not the alleged survivors, the only passenger who could help Netaji to fly away to his destination and that is why they were shown to be dead, so that the pursuing allies could be sent on a wrong trail.

**N. So called Doctors' evidence was at such variance from one another and also from their own statement given before Anglo-American intelligence, Shah Nawaz Khan Committee and Khosla Commission that none, in his senses, could believe their testimony.**

A CHART of comparative statements of Dr. T. Yoshimi witness No. 48 and witness No. 72 of Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission respectively before different agencies, is given below :



## CONTRADICTORY STATEMENT OF DR. T. YOSHIMI

### STATEMENT ON 19.10.46 BEFORE (THE 'ALLIED INTELLIGENCE')

1. On 18th August (1945) at 5 P.M., Bose with 6 or 7 persons were brought to the Hospital  
(No mention about a Telephone message of crash)
2. He personally cleaned Bose's injuries with oil and dressed them.
3. Bose was suffering from extensive burns over the whole body so much so that very little was left of his identification marks (Still this Japanese identified Netaji after 11 years of the crash when shown Netaji's photo (fully dressed) by the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee).

### DEPOSITION FROM 21.5.56 TO 23.5.59 (BEFORE SHAH NAWAZ COMMITTEE)

On 18th at about 2 P.M. received Telephone message from Airport intimating plane crash. 20 minutes thereafter injured persons brought including Bose. 13 or 14 persons were brought.

At about 2-30 p.m. a 'Shidosha' carrying Mr. Bose alone, arrived at the hospital followed by a car occupied only by a staff officer of the Military H. Qr. in Formosa and then by lorry carrying 12 or 13 injured persons. Mr. Bose who was lying absolutely naked on a bed in the Shidosha was brought in to the Hospital on a Stretcher.

DR. TSURUTA (not he) applied White ointment against burns and bandaged.

He was severely burnt. It took a greyish colour like ash. Even his heart had burnt. He had 3rd degree burns. His face and eyes were swollen. He was in high fever; his temperature was 39° Centigrade. His pulse rate was 120 per minute. His heart condition was also weak.

[Can any one remember all these details (even pulse rate) about a patient after 11 years and of whom no record was kept. ? ]

### DEPOSITION ON 24.4.71 (BEFORE G. D. KHOSLA)

Little before noon received Telephone call from the Airport. 7 persons, including 2 Indians, arrived at the Hospital at about 12-30 P.M.

He treated his burns all over his body. He was bandaged all over his body after applying plaster.

Chandra Bose suffered general burns all over the body. His heart was not burnt. That is a mistake.

(He signed the earlier statement verifying the same). His burn was that of 3rd degree.

(Can anyone remain conscious after having 3rd degree burns ?)

His features still remained when he was brought to the Hospital, there were no bruises, no swelling, only the colour of the skin changed. Later on his face swelled. He admits that his earlier statement about swelling was incorrect.



( 1 )

( 2 )

( 3 )

When he examined Mr. Bose in dressing room and not in the operation theatre, he found that Mr. Bose's burnt were of severest, 3rd degree type but there was no injury on any part of his body, from which blood came out.

He (Dr. Yoshimi) gave him one after the other, for his heart, four injections of Vitacamphor, two injections of Digitamine and three injections of Ringer's solution.

He also let out about 200 c.c. of blood and transfused about 400 c.c. of blood, which he obtained from a Japanese soldier there. He (Netaji) was then given Sulphonamide injection to prevent infection.

He then went to attend the other injured persons, leaving Dr. TSURUTA in charge of Mr. Bose, during whose treatment and even later, the following persons were present. Viz., Mr. Nakamura, the Chief Nurse and another Nurse (both Japanese) and Col. Rahman.

( 25 )



STATEMENT ON 19.10.46 BEFORE  
(THE 'ALLIED INTELLIGENCE')

4. After 9 P.M. he was sinking into unconsciousness—he was in coma never regained consciousness and died at 11 P. M.
5. After 10 day's (i. e. on 28th) treatment, Habibur Rahman went to HOKUTO Army Hospital taking Netaji's ashes with him.
6. (Nothing remembered)

DEPOSITION FROM 21.5.56 TO 23.5.56  
(BEFORE SHAH NAWAZ COMMITTEE)

"It was shortly after 8 P.M. that Mr. Bose breathed his last".

Tried to give artificial respiration.  
(Never mentioned earlier).

At the time of his (Netaji's) death he, Dr. Tsuruta, Mr. Nakamura, two Japanese Nurses, Col Rahman, one Military Policeman and Col Nonogaki were present.

Habib left Hospital on the 30th August with Netaji's body and never came back. He does not know where he went. He does not remember how that Habib took the ashes.

In case of severe burns of 3rd degree, the blood gets thicker and there is high pressure of the heart. Blood needs to be let out. So, the Doctor himself let out approximately 200 c.c. of blood and transfused 400 c.c. of blood into him.

He instructed Dr. Tsuruta to give him (Netaji) Vita-Camphore in ection every half on hour...

Mr. Bose's body was then removed to a corner of the same room and a screen was put in front of the body.

DEPOSITION ON 24.4.71  
(BEFORE G. D. KHOSLA)

He was conscious for 7/8 hours, Mr. Bose survived in the Hospital for 12 hours and died in his presence. His statement before Shah Nawaz Khan Committee that Netaji died shortly after 8 P.M., he thinks to be incorrect.

Habib left with Netaji's body the day after his death. He never came back. The dead body was removed on the 19th morning (when confronted with his earlier statement he said that he was not sure which of his own statements was correct).

The Doctor gave blood transfusion. No. Blood transfusion was given by a Surgeon from Army H.Q. whose name he did not remember. He did not let out blood from Bose's body. Even in 3rd degree burns blood transfusion possible without letting out blood. Blood transfusion was not given by him. He admits that his statement before Shah Nawaz Khan Committee was wrong. He was not present when blood transfusion was given.



i) According to DR. TSURUTA (Witness No. 39 of Netaji Inquiry Committee 1956) he was present from the time Netaji was brought in, till the time he died (?). He further said, on 18-8-1945 at about 3 P.M., about a dozen injured persons, including Mr. Bose and Col. Habibur Rahman arrived at the hospital in a truck and all of them were carried to the Dressing Room and they were attended to there, while they were lying on their stretchers and after having been dressed, all the Japanese were removed to one room and Mr. Bose and Col. Rahman were sent to another room, and for privacy, a screen was put Round Mr. Bose's bed. When Mr. Bose was first brought to the Dressing Room, both the Doctors (Dr. Tsuruta and Dr. Yoshimi) attended on him and his burns, which were of the severest type, were smeared with white ointment and were then bandaged. Later on, he was removed to the Ward, where an injection of Ringer's solution and after that, injections of Cardiotonica and Sulphonamide were given him. To the best of his recollection, no other injection or blood transfusion was given him, nor was his blood let out. He was present all the time in Netaji's room and Dr. Yoshimi paid occasional visits and there was no whole time nurse on duty in his room. At about 7 P.M. his condition suddenly took a turn for the worse, when they gave him injections for the heart, but to no effect, and he expired between 7 to 8 P.M. when both the doctors, Col. Rahman, Mr. Nakamura, the Military Police Guard were present.....His body remained on his bed and at the same place for the whole of the night.

ii) DR. YOSHIO, another Doctor deposed before the Khosla Commission : "When I went to the Ward, a Nurse was giving blood transfusion to Mr. Bose, but she was finding it defficult to get the needle to go into his vein.....The Nurse asked me to give the blood transfusion to the patient.....I asked the name of the patient and the Nurse told me, that gentleman was His Excellency Mr. Bose".

There were innumerable such discrepancies and contradiction and because of these irreconcilable dliscrepancies the so-called doctors' evidence could not be believed.



Nor is there any reason for which Col. Habibur Rahman's evidence about the alleged plane crash and Netaji's alleged death can be accepted as the truth since truth never varies. Col. Rahman's statements, made on different occasions, do not have even a semblance of Consistency.

A comparative CHART of the statements of Col. Habibur Rahman is given below :



# **CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENTS OF COL. HABIBUR RAHMAN**

Point	C. I. C. (Figgess) Report dated 29.9.45 A	C. S. D. I. C. Report No. 1156 dt. 31.12.45 B	Before S. N. Khan Committee on 6.4.56 C
A.	He revealed that he had no knowledge of how Bose escaped or was removed from the plane.	On B. 1269's suggestion Bose changed his course and moved towards the front, etc.	Netaji turned towards me. I said "Please get out through the front : there is no way in rear". (Augay say nikaleay peechay say rasta nahin hay)".
B.	He stated that upon alighting from the plane he noticed his own coat on fire.	B. 1269 wore knee-boots, serge breaches and a serge tunic : his clothes were not burnt at all. (He wears them now at CSDIC (I).	"My clothes did not catch fire."
C.	He then saw "Bose lying by the plane with his clothing afire".	B. 1269 noticed Bose in a standing position about 12 yards away with smoke coming from his garments.	"The moment I got out, I saw him about 10 yards ahead of me standing and looking in the opposite direction to mine towards the West. "His clothes were on fire".
D.	Rahman went to the aid of Bose and removed his burning clothing.	Bose was endeavouring to remove his clothes.	"I rushed and I experienced great difficulty in unfastening his bush-shirt belt. His trousers were not so much on fire and it was not necessary to take them off."
E.	He added that the seat Bose occupied in the aircraft was beside a petrol tank and at the time of the crash the tank exploded, spreading the burning fuel on Bose's clothing.	B. 1269 stated that Bose's clothes may have been drenched in petrol, as Bose sat under a petrol tank in the plane.	"There was more fire on bush-shirt. All the same, his trousers had caught fire but my own impression is that since he was sitting in a squatting way in the plane, the petrol spread more on the upper portion of his (Netaji's) clothes and that is why the fire was more on the upper portion.
F.	It was later determined that Bose received serious injuries about the head and neck in addition to his severe burns.	Bose had sustained serious burns all over his body and when he was laid on the ground B. 1269 noticed 2 or 3 fractures on the skull.	"I laid him down on the ground and I noticed a very deep cut on his head probably on the left side. His face had been scorched by heat and his hair also caught fire.....The cut on his head was a long one about 4 inches long. He was bleeding profusely. It was a straight cut. I tried to stop his bleeding with my handkerchief."
G.	Rahman received two lacerations on his head, one on his right leg and burns of his hands, arms and face.	Besides burns on the hands, B. 1269's face was slightly burnt on the right side, and he also received two minor wounds on the head and one lacerated wound on the right leg below the knee.	".....my both ands were badly burnt. As I came through the fire, the right side of my face was burnt and I noticed I had received a cut in forehead which was bleeding and also the right side of my right knee was also bleeding profusely as it has hit some hard substance. The head cut was caused due to my hitting the floor as the plane crashed. "My clothes did not catch fire. My hands were burnt very badly in the attempt to take of Netaji's clothes."



# CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS OF COL. HABIBUR RAHMAN

A

H. NO MENTION.

I. On August 20, 1945 Bose was removed from the Hospital and his remains were placed in a box provided by the Japanese.

J. Rahman requested the remains be flown to Singapore or Tokyo. Major Nagatomo informed Rahman on August 21, 1945 that it would be impossible to transport the remains by air due to the size of the box in which Bose was placed. Major Nagatomo suggested to Rahman at that time that the body be cremated and Rahman, after careful consideration, agreed.

K. According to Rahman, photos were taken at the scene of the crash and also at the Hospital after the death of Bose. The photos are at present in possession of the "Japanese war Office" in Tokyo.

L. NO MENTION.

B

Bose's body was kept in the room where he died, and B. 1269 remained there all the night together with Japanese guards and some patients. B. 1269 states that he did not keep any 'souvenirs' as none was available on the person of Bose after the accident all their luggage having been burnt on the plane.

A coffin made of sandal wood was brought to the Hospital and Bose's body was placed therein.

The Japanese staff colonel visited B. 1269 who requested him to make arrangements for the dead body to be taken to Singapore. B. 1269 was informed that as the coffin was too large it was not possible to transport it by plane and the idea had therefore to be dropped. B. 1269 then suggested that the body be cremated as the Japanese had said they were unable to preserve it.

".....two photographs of Bose were taken, one with the body fully covered inside the coffin, and the other with the lid of the coffin closed and B. 1269 seated by its side. Fruits and incense were placed on the coffin.

On August 22, 1945 at about 10.00 hrs. Bose's body was removed to a crematorium where a Japanese cleric who spoke excellent English, performed a religious ceremony. After this, Bose's body was taken out of the coffin and placed in a furnace. The door of the furnace was looked and the key was kept by

C

"I sat up the whole night in that room because it was quite hot and I could not sleep. The body was there and a Japanese sentry was guarding it."

"On August 20, 1945, I was informed that arrangements for the cremation had been made and soon after the coffin was put in a Japanese Military lorry or ambulance .....after arrival at the crematorium.....Netaji's coffin was removed from the lorry..... Body was taken up of the coffin and was taken up by the Japanese inside the crematorium'.

"I told this Japanese officer that he should go and inform the Headquarters and request them on my behalf that I would like Netaji's body to be transported to Singapore where all our Government and Army Officers were present. On the morning of the August 19, at about 9-00 o'clock.....I repeated my request to the Japanese Army staff officer that the arrangements for the transportation of Netaji's body to Singapore should be made."

"The face (Netaji's) could be recognised by me.....The photo of his body (excluding the face) was taken at my request.....I learnt that photos of the burnt plane had also been taken.....I cannot exactly say why the photographs were not taken on August 18 and 19, 1945.

"On August 20, 1945, I (Rahman) was informed that arrangements for the cremation had been made and soon after the coffin was put in a Japanese military lorry or ambulance. The coffin was escorted by two lorries full of Japanese soldiers and staff of the Hospital and Japanese officers in four staff cars. There were also a few civilians present. In one of the cars, a Japanese General (Probably garrison



## CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS OF COL. HABIBUR RAHMAN

A

B

Japanese Military officer. B. 1269 had declined to take charge of the key as he was at the time running a temperature and was in a very depressed state of mind. The body was then set alight by the cleric's assistant. At the cremation there were about 30 Japanese medical and military officers present. B. 1269 does not recollect any of their names. B. 1269 states that he was the only Indian present at that time. About half an hour after the body had been set alight, B. 1269 left the crematorium with others.

C

commander) also came.....As far as I recollect one car was leading forward by the Lorry carrying Netaji's coffin, followed by escorts and other cars. I was in one of the cars in the rear. After arrival at the crematorium .....Netaji's coffin was removed from the lorry by the Japanese soldiers and the escort paid compliments according to their customs and all those present also paid compliments... As far as I remember a Japanese priest was also present at that time. Body was taken out of the coffin and was taken up by the Japanese inside the crematorium.

".....The body of Netaji was taken out of the coffin and was placed on a stretcher like thing, into the incinerator.....The door of the incinerator was locked and I kept the key with me overnight.....This was approximately between 11 and 1 noon. I was brought back to the Hospital from the crematorium after the fire was set on....."

M. NO MENTION

On August 23, 1945. B. 1269 in the Company of the cleric and staff major and 3 or 4 other Japanese visited the crematorium when the ashes of Bose were collected and placed in a wooden box specially made for the purpose, B. 1269 was shown a small piece of gold among the ashes which he believes was part of one of Bose's gold teeth. The box containing the ashes was then taken to a Japanese temple in the city, where a religious ceremony was again performed by the cleric.

"On the morning of August 21, 1945, I went to the crematorium accompanied by two or three Japanese including the civilian and opened the lock of the incinerator with key which was with me. I was present and I saw the ashes of Netaji's body inside it. We had a wooden urn to collect the ashes. We collected some ashes from the head side, nearest to the door, and placed them in the urn. I remember distinctly that a little piece of gold, which was from the filling of one of Netaji's teeth was removed and placed in the urn".



Against the non-existence of any legally acceptable evidence of plane crash and Netaji's death, it was pointed out that there is massive evidence to show that Netaji not only survived the so called plane crash but was actually seen and heard by many people from different walks of life.

To give a few examples, Shri S. C. Sen Gupta of the Intelligence wing of the I.N.A., deposed that, in 1946, he had knowledge of a cable, which originated in General Mc. Arther's H.Q. to the following effect : "Subhas Bose escaped again".

Mr. Thomas of Penang deposed that he knew that Netaji had gone to Mongolia or Outer Mongolia in his own car which tallies with Shri Shamlal Jain's evidence that Pandit Nehru gave him a note to type ( he was working as a typist during the historical Red Fort Trial ) which described Netaji's escape by a Jeep.

Late Shri Deben Sen M.P., along with Shri Joglekar, another labour leader, saw Netaji in 1946 at Mersailles Air Port in France on their way to I.L.O. Conference in Geneva and the authenticity of this meeting was confirmed by both Shri Chapala Kanta Bhattacharyya, the then Editor of Ananda Bazar Patrika, Calcutta and Shri Mukund Parekh (late Shri Deben Sen's P.A.) Shri Jagdish Kodesia, Ex. President of Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee deposed that the Bishop of Dalat had told him in 1961 that when Netaji's alleged death was announced, he was actually staying with the Bishop.

Shri T. L. Shashivarna Thevar deposed that his cousin Sri Mathuramalinga Thevar, Ex. M. P., had gone abroad in 1949 and met Netaji in Korea as well as in China. Shri Barun Sen Gupta of Ananda Bazar Patrika and at present, the Editor of Bartaman, deposed that when in 1955 he met late Shri Mathuramalinga Thevar, this legendary hero of South India told him : "I was talking to Netaji, as I am talking to you".

Sardar Niranjana Singh Talib (deceased), Ex. M.P., and Ex. President of Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee and an Ex-Cabinet Minister of Punjab, deposed that he met one Mr. Wagg, an American Journalist and Political Correspondent



of Chicago Tribune, in late Sardar Baldeb Singh's (the then Defence Minister of India) house, who had showed him some photographs showing Netaji in Indo-China and had said him "Netaji disappeared in Indo-China and he did not die in crash". Sardar Niranjana Singh Talib further deposed that Sardar Sardul Singh (deceased), an Ex-President of Forward Bloc, told him that late Sardar had received some communications from some important Sikhs of Sanghai that Netaji had conferred with them much after August 18, 1945.

This evidence of Mr. Talib was corroborated by Sri Amiya Nath Bose, Dwijendra Nath Bose (both nephew of Netaji) and also from the different News Paper Reports of that relevant period.

There is no acceptable evidence of Plane crash and death and on the other hand, there is massive evidence also to show that Netaji was heard and seen by innumerable persons much after August, 1945.

Therefore nothing remained on which a finding could be given that there was a plane crash.

**In summing up it is submitted :**

a) No document has been produced either before the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee or the Khosla Commission to show that at least one plane flew in the skies of Taihoku on 18th August, 1945.

b) All the Japanese evidence including the alleged co-passengers and Military Personnels' evidence is heresay evidence on the alleged death.

c) No documentary evidence has been produced to show that the so-called passengers actually boarded the alleged ill-fated plane. Their identity even has not been established by applying ordinary legal procedure.

d) None of them knew Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from before.

e) Therefore, nothing remains to come to a finding that there was a plane crash.



f) Habibur Rahman's evidence is non est.

g) Only the Doctors claimed to have seen Netaji dying but their evidence is at such variance at material particulars and fundamentals, that the same has no evidentiary value. Verily, their evidence has to be rejected as being full of lies and contradictions.

**O. Against the above, there are the following facts :**

i) Fake plane crash was planned according to the evidence of Sri U. C. Sharma, S. C. Sen Gupta, the Intelligence Officer of I.N.A., Dr. B. Ramachandra Rao, Shri E. Bhaskaran and Shri Debnath Das. Mr. Kishi's written statement before Shah Nawaz Committee also proved that a fake plane crash was planned. Iyer's hand written note submitted to Nehru in 1951 mentioned his meeting with Col. TADA, who informed him that there was such a plan. Col. TADA was a staff Officer to F. M. Terauchi.

ii) Shri Biren Chakravarty's (ex. Captain of the CSDIC) report and evidence showing that there was no plane crash. He should know as his global Intelligence Organization was trying to find out the veracity of the plane crash story.

iii) Shri Mulkha Gobinda Reddy, Ex. M. P., Shri H. V. Kamath, ex M. P., Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, ex M. P. and others claim that the official report prepared by the Formosan Government definitely leads to the conclusion that there was no plane crash.

iv) Shri Pritam Singh's (of Taiwan) evidence of Mayor's (of Taipei) report where it says conclusively that on that day or a day before or after that day, there was no plane crash at Taihoku.

v) Shri Alfred Wagg, the Political correspondent of Chicago Tribune, meeting Netaji and taking his photographs in Indo-China. This piece of evidence



has come through the evidence of Sardar Niranjan Singh Talib, Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Shri Dwijen Bose and others and also from the newspaper report of the relevant period.

Japanese surrendered on the 15th. As Netaji did not accept the offer of asylum by the Japanese Government, they had to hand him over to the victorious Allies. But the fact is that they did not. And the fact is that the Head of the Hikari Kikan was closetted with him on the 17th of August morning (he admitted that in his evidence), which he obviously, under the terms of surrender could not do officially. Was not this close door conference in direct violation of the terms of surrender to be strictly followed by the vanquished ? It was. But the fact is that the Japanese risked this close door conference and the fact also is that they had tremendous respect for Netaji.

(Remember in this connection Tojo's bowing whenever Netaji's name is mentioned in the Tokyo Trial and Count Terauchi's instructions to Tada that even against the orders of the Imperial Japanese Headquarters, he was prepared to help Netaji to escape . Had they had, under the circumstances, any other alternative but to give out this story of plane crash ? They had none. The vanquished Japanese could not help Netaji, the greatest foe of the British, openly, but they were going to help him without arousing suspicion. They had no other alternative but to give out the crash story. This is the reason and that is why the details about crash story and the alleged death are so scrappy and at variance.

Sri S. A. Iyer had used the word "disappeared" with reference to Netaji's departure in the plan agreed upon both by the Japanese as well as by Netaji. It is to be considered what this word "disappeared" could actually signify and what the correct word in this connection should be. The plan was that the Japanese would remove Netaji to a safe zone, so as to prevent his arrest by the Anglo-Americans, after he was safe in Russian territory and out of their clutches, the Japanese would make the announcement regarding Netaji.



As the Japanese were also surrendering to the same Anglo-Americans, they could, under no circumstances make an announcement that they had removed alive or had otherwise helped the disappearance of their erstwhile ally, Netaji, and who was an arch enemy of the Anglo-Americans and who were naturally very keen on arresting him. So, after having removed Netaji in a plane from his theatre of activities and away from his countrymen and beyond the control of the Anglo-Americans, the Japanese duly announced that Netaji had died, as a result of a plane crash. So, under such circumstances, the Japanese had no other alternative but to declare that Netaji had died and thereafter, the word "disappeared" used by Sri Iyer could only mean "died" and nothing else.

As Netaji was travelling in a plane, it was the easiest thing for them to announce that Netaji's death was caused by a plane crash accident and which is obviously a readily believable story and which was actually what they had announced.

The facts and circumstances narrated above, give a very clear, convincing and readily-believable story that, in accordance with Netaji's final request to be taken to Manchuria, with the ultimate object of going to Russia, the Japanese Government flew him in a brand new bomber plane from Bangkok to Saigon and then onward to Dairen in Manchuria, Netaji's final destination under the auspices of the Japanese.

#### **P. Some Informations Indicating Netaji's Arrival In Manchuria :**

"On the 18th (August) morning a message was received in the Red Fort relayed from Trincomali from the American Naval Intelligence,.....stating that a twinengine bomber had been sighted and mentioning also the direction, altitude and speed of the aircraft. The Military Intelligence hurriedly looked into their records, held a Court Martial and quickly decided that this was probably an air craft maintaining the line of communication and it should be allowed to pass but it should be kept under observation from a certain distance-reasonable



distance. No importance was given to information at that time. [Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission 1970, Page-3712]

[‘On the 20th night a message was received from Macao about Parachute landing of three persons in the area between Harbin and Tiensin.....Later on I heard from my colleagues in the CSDIC that this area where three persons were parachuted down was covered by the Japanese Intelligence Organisation under two Officers, namely, Itto and Indo-one was a captain and the other was a Lt. Colonel”. [Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission 1970, evidence of Capt. Biren Chakraborty, Page-3687].

“Later on when other pieces of information were pouring in, particularly when the statements of responsible INA Officers were being recorded, it was quickly ascertained that this particular message had a singular importance because this was the plane which took off with Gen. Shidei at 10-30 and which tallied with all information on record regarding the visit of Netaji and his party to the headquarters of Field Marshal Terauchi”. [Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission, 1970, Page-3713].

“Later on it was detected.....the plane was sighted in the air any time between 10 and 10-30. On that particular date it was not so important. It was taken as a message. Later on terrific weight was thrown on this.” [Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission, 1970, Pages-3723-3724].

#### **Q. British Government’s Dilemma Regarding “Treatment of Bose”.**

Presumably, the Anglo-American Intelligence came to know that Netaji escaped to Manchuria. Knowing that, Wavell Government faced a serious dilemma regarding the course of their “treatment of Bose”. Probably the “Top Secret Note” of Sir F. M. Mudie, Home Member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council, was the startling revelation of the information of Netaji’s ‘escape’ to Manchuria. They were very much afraid of Netaji’s influence over the I.N.A. and entire people of South East Asia. So, they thought, “that in certain circumstances his presence in Russia would be so dangerous as to rule it out altogether”.



As regards the treatment of Bose, six possibilities were suggested by Sri F. M. Mudie. One of those possibilities was "Leave him where he is and don't ask for his surrender.....In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not ask for his release. He might, of course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties but the security authorities consider that in certain circumstances his presence in Russia would be so dangerous as to rule it out altogether". So, it can be said that 23-8-45 the Anglo-Americans knew that Netaji was in Manchuria at the relevant time. (Transfer of Power, Vol. VI).

From the available documents, informations and circumstantial evidence one might come to the conclusion that as early as 1944, Netaji had set up Intelligence Organisation at Harbin, Tiensin and Dairen in Manchuria to arrange for his escape to Russia.

An A. P. I. message issued from Madras on April 4 (1946) which says : "Subhas Chandra Bose is in Manchuria and doing well.....Sevika, a vernacular paper of Malaya, recently carried a news item from London dated March 27, 1946 which stated that Bose was heard over the radio from Manchuria".



## CONCLUSION

The last official stand taken by the office of Prime Minister of India on the floor of Lok Sabha was on 3rd September, 1978, when Shri Morarji Desai stated : "Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission hold the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death following a plane Crash as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive".

The claim in support of Netaji's death consequent to the alleged accident at TAIHOKU on 18-8-1945 was based almost entirely on the evidence provided by Col. Habibur Rahman, A. D. C. to Netaji, and the Japanese doctor, T. Yoshimi. Col. Rahman maintained, he accompanied Netaji on the reported fateful journey but survived the tragedy. Dr. Yoshimi submitted that he unsuccessfully treated Netaji in hospital after the reported incident.

Col. Rahman was twice interrogated by Allied Intelligence and he also appeared before the Shah Nawaz Committee. A chart of his statements on these three occasions indicate the rather inconsistent nature of his descriptions is enclosed earlier. The Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC) recorded on 25th March, 1946 : "It appears that Habibur Rahman is not willing to come out with the truth". In fact, the Intelligence Bureau, in New Delhi categorically recorded on 19-5-1946 : "Habibur Rahman's statement is unsatisfactory. The multitude on discrepancies in accounts of actual Air Crash as given first to Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) in Tokyo and later to C. S. D. I. C. is being taken up".



The matter had indeed already been taken up at the highest level of the British Government on 25-10-1945. When the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom chaired a meeting to consider, among other items, what to do with Netaji in the post-war situation. The same day the British Cabinet discussed a confidential note sent by the then Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell regarding the finalisation of a policy towards "BOSE". (Transfer of Power, Vol. VI).

On 19-2-1946 the Intelligence Bureau in New Delhi communicated to its counter part in Singapore : "It is beyond doubt that he (Bose) had plans to go underground with a number of selected friends of his movement". (after the Japanese surrender in World War-II). Lord Wavell's diary of 24-8-1945 reveals : "I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhas Bose's death in an air Crash is true. I suspect it very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground". The then Commander of the Allied Forces in South East Asia, Lord Mountbatten's diary indicates that he received a despatch from the British Director of Military Intelligence in Chungking after the news about the Netaji's alleged death was broadcast from Tokyo, which said : "When Bose was preparing to leave Burma with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family and remain in Burma. D.M.I.'s supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there and he subsequently escaped into Thailand." British Intelligence further believed that the Governor of the Afghan Province of Khost had been informed by the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul that there were many Congress refugees in Moscow after the War and Bose was included in their number. The assessment being : "There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories".

E. Bhaskaran, Confidential Assistant to Netaji in Bangkok, who lives in Madras, corroborates that a message was sent by Netaji in 1945 to the Japanese to convey to Moscow of his desire to go to the Soviet Union. Naeemur-Rahman, son of Habibur Rahman, who resides in Islamabad, claims that his father told him that he had accompanied Netaji on a visit to Tokyo two or three



months before the alleged crash in course of such a meeting had taken place between Netaji and Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo to finalise plans of the proposed trip to Russia.

All the above information casting doubts on the veracity of Netaji's death following a plane crash have surfaced in the mid-1970s and after as a result of declassification of British Government records under the 30 year rule and were, therefore, not presented as evidence before either the Shah-Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission.

Dr. Yoshimi's version of events also varies between three depositions he made on the subject. A chart highlighting these are also enclosed earlier. Further more, there does not appear to be any documentary evidence of a plane crash having taken place at Taihoku on 18-8-1945. Besides, the cremation certificate said to be connected with Netaji's body is, strangely, in the name of a Ichiro Okura "a non-staff member of the Japanese Armed Forces". The birth day of the deceased in the certificate is given as 9th April, 1900. Netaji was born on 23-1-1897. Also, the cause of death is given as a "heart-attack". If Dr. Yoshimi's statement is correct, Netaji could only have died of third degree burns. The date of death in the certificate is given as 19-8-1945. According to Dr. Yoshimi, Netaji died on the night, August 18-8-1945. It has never been satisfactorily explained how the cremation certificate in question had any link with Netaji. If the intention of the then Japanese authorities was to conceal the story of Netaji's death, this did not tally with the Japanese Government's official announcement of his demise to the world.

A copy of the cremation Certificate is given overleaf.



COM/5 (B) 25-9-73

SEAL

No.	Name of Disease	Date of Death Date of Permission Date of Cremation	Occupation	Sex	Parmanent Domicile Present Address	Name of Deceased	Date of Birth	Applicant Address	Name
2640									
2641	Heart Attack	August 19, 1945 August 21, 1945 August 22, 1945	Non-Regular Staff member of Armed Forces	Male	No. 1, 2 Chome Dogenzaka, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, No. 2, 3-Chome Nogi-machi, Taipei City	OCHIRO OKURA	April 9, 1900.	Unit No. 21123	Taneyoshi Yoshimi
2642		Place of Burial & Cremation. Municipal Crematory				Examined and authenticated by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.			
2643						Sd/-			
2644						YASUTERU ASAHINA Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Archives Section)			

It is certified that the above statement, abstracted from document on cremation permit is correct and true.

July 14, 1956.  
Bureau of Health and Hygiene,  
Taipeh Municipal Office. (SEALED)



P. C. Kar, an official in the Governor's House in Bengal when R. G. Casey was the Governor, claimed that the monitoring service at the Governor's House picked up three broadcasts of Netaji on the 31 metre band in December, 1945 and January and February, 1946. A note on this item was put up before Mr. Casey. This may be verified from records existing either with the Government of India or the official Records Office in Britain.

On 22-7-1946 Khurshed Naoroji one of Mahatma Gandhi's Secretaries, replying to a letter from Louis Fischer to Gandhiji, : remarked : "At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA). If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country." It is intriguing that almost a year after the reported air crash at Taihoku, Gandhiji's camp were apprehending Netaji's return to India from the Soviet Union instead of being convinced of his death. A photo copy of the original hand-written letter by Shri Naoroji is also enclosed herewith.

The 'INTERPRESS', a German Magazine, published an article on 28th October, 1949 under the caption, 'SUBHAS CHANDRA BASU' which stressed : "BABU BOSE : MANN HINTER DEN FRONTEN. (MAN BEHIND THE FRONT)"

"In 1945, when a chaos was prevailing over the whole of China on the victory of the Allied Powers, he (Basu) could have easily enter into the Soviet Boarder in exchange of immense gold Kept with him and leave for Moscow in a special plan to Keep himself underground in a lonely place there. Then what does the news about **his secret journey by a Steamer to Irish Free State mean**, of which the British Port-authorities were not at all aware, yet Mr. Galahar, the leader of the British Communist Party has referred to on the occasion of a discussion on the freedom-movement of India ?

"Budha-Faced, veteran Yogi Shri Basu will, perhaps, once become the freedom-giver of not only India but also Asia.

"Another imporlant event was **his journey to Switzarland**. Lenin had himself in Switzarland. The people of the world know the political thoughts of Sri Basu.



"His immense influence has spread all over India. If he **remains alive and that is to be sure possible**,—the whole world, then, one day, will hear again his speech." (Appendix-A)

Dr. Radha Binod Pal, the jurist of international fame and one of the Judges of the historic Tokyo War Crimes' Tribunal, wrote a letter (Appendix-B) on 14-2-53 to Shri A. M. Nair of Tokyo, in which he has written, "As a matter of fact, I could not accept as true the story of Netaji's death at Formosa. In any case, I feel that the whole thing demands a thorough investigation. Statements by individuals made here and there will not convince me as to the truth of the whole story given out. I have reasons to doubt its correctness".

As late as February, 1954 the American magazine 'National Republic' carried an article by Elliot Erikson, which asserted : "There is a strong possibility that Bose is alive. Numerous people report seeing him after his death, including a nurse in a Field Hospital who treated him for minor injuries. His body was never found and Allied Intelligence officials could find no evidence that he died in the wreckage of the plane he was supposed to have fallen in".

Documents on Netaji categorised as "top Secret" and had never been made accessible, are in the possession of the USSR National Archives, according to Dr. E. S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow. These may now be made available to genuinely interested parties in view of the prevailing policy of Glasnost in the Soviet Union. [Hindusthan Times, New Delhi, March 5, 1990].

#### CLUES TO TRUTH :

- a) War records of the U. K. Government Relating to Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A. including the following documents :
  - i) Report of C.S.D.I.C. signed by Capt. Biren Chakraborty on or 30/31st December, 1945 and counter signed by Col. Stevenson :



ii) Report of Figges., submitted to the Government of India on October 8, 1945 and Report of Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi, dated May 19, 1946 (No. C-5) ;

iii) Documents on Netaji Categorised as 'Top Secret' are in the possession of the U. K. National Archives, which will be published after 125 yrs, from the date of Transfer of Power.

iv) Diary of Lord Mountbatten ;

v) Anglo-American Intelligence Report ;

vi) Communication between Mac. Aurther and Lord Mountbatten relating to Subhas Chandra Bose ;

vii) H.Q. Main File 273 Misc. I.N.A. 10 Misc. ;

viii) File No. 249-INA-I and II(H) G.H.Q. case on Subhas Chandra Bose ;

ix) Secret No. 63/2/10 G. S. I(b) H.Q. SACSEA COMMISSION No. I, Saigon, 18th October, 1945 ;

x) Report of SACSEA COMMISSION I, relating to Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A. ;

xi) Allied Secret Report Sub : Subhas Chandra Bose and INA ;

xii) Report of SEATIC SECTION Intelligence Assault Unit. 7th IND DIV ALF SIAM with all the SEATIC DOCUMENTS 128 ;

xiii) Records of Tokyo Trial (War Criminals) ;

b) War Records of U.S.A. relating to Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A. including the following documents :

i) U. S. Naval Intelligence Report relating to Netaji's activities from 17th August to 25th August ;

ii) Communication from General Mac. Aurther to the U.S.A. President, Truman between August 17 to August 31, 1945 regarding Subhas Chandra Bose ;

iii) Allied Intelligence Report on Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A. ;

iv) Record of Tokyo Trial (War Criminals) ;



v) Communication between Mac. Aurther and Mountbatten during the period of August 17 and August 31, 1945 relating to Subhas Chandra Bose.

- c) War records of U.S.S.R. in connection with Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A.
- d) War records of Japan from 1944 to August 31, 1945 in relation with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A.
- e) War records of Germany (both East & West) from 1941 to 1943 relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A.
- f) War records of China with special reference, presence and activities of Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A. personnels at Shanghai, Unan and Sinkiang during July and August, 1945.
- g) Prime Minister's Secretariat File during the period of Pandit Nehru including the following Secret Files :

1A, 2-A, 3-A, 6-A, 8-A, 16-A [ U. O. Note No. D/S-86 6, dated August 24, 1953, from P.M's Secretariat to Mohd. Yunus, MEA (SEA. BR), 17-A (U.O. Note No. D. 3788-8EA/53, dated August 27, 1953, from Mohd. Yunus US, ME A (SEA) to P. M's Secretariat, 27-A [Memo No. 2/53/1971/3/601 (151) dated October 13, 1953 from Mohd. Yunus. MEA (SEA) to P.M's Secretariat ], 33-B (letter No. 20/62 (Accts) dated April 82, 1954, from the Joint Secretary, INA (Enquiry and Relief Committee, 82, Daryaganj, Delhi to the President), 34A (Rajya Sabha's Starred Question No. 560 dated September 28, 1954), 35-B (Note for supplimentaries), 37-A (Lok Sabha Starred Question No. 334 dated August 2, 1955), 37-BCD (Enclosures to S.No. 37-A). And Notes 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 29, File No. 23 (156)/51-P.M. [ Indian National Army (INA) in the Far East ], 23(II)/56-57PM [ INA Treasure], 12 (226)/56 PM [Investigation into the circumstances leading to the death of Subhas Chandra Bose ]

- h) History of INA (by Late Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta) lies with the Defence Department since long.



- i) Pandit Nehru's letter to Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during 1945 to 1947, relating to Subhas Chandra Bose.
- j) Communication between Louis Fischer and Gandhiji, Louis Fischer and Khurshed Naoroji, Louis Fischer and President of U.S.A and also top Political Leaders of U.S.A., Louis Fischer and the Prime Minister of U. K. and other top Political Leaders of U. K. in relation to Netaji and India's independence.
- k) "Top Secret" documents relating to Subhas Chandra Bose are in the possession of the USSR National Archives.

In 1945-46 and even some years after the British left India, all news about the report of alleged incident of Taihoku were found to be very scanty, hazy and highly confusing. These news appeared as more misleading than giving any direct clue to find the truth about the report of Netaji's alleged death. The Anglo-American investigating agencies could get hold of only a few documents like the four signals at Bangkok and five photographs from Tokyo. These agencies had, therefore, to rely more on the oral evidence from the Japanese and the INA sources than on positive documents to arrive at any definite conclusion about their findings.

However, in later years, when the post-war political complications, receded, more facts came to light first before Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 and then before Khosla Commission in 1970. These facts have been carefully scrutinised and analysed in the foregoing chapters, and briefly summarised in the present one. After what have been found factually uptill now, they lead to one and only one conclusion, that the story of Netaji's alleged death at Taihoku was deliberately concocted by the Japanese authorities to enable him to reach the Russian territory across the Munchurian border.

After coming to know the fact of Bose's escape, the Wavell Government in Delhi in 1945 faced a serious dilemma regarding the course of their "treatment of Bose". They were confronted with many problems: Will they ask the country which kept Bose in secret custody to surrender him to the British authority? After



getting Bose in their hands will they try and hang him ? Or, will they intern him either in India or in some remote island in the Indian Ocean ? The Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir Mudie, prepared a 'Note' for Wavell incorporating various suggestions for "treatment of Bose". It was prepared on August 23, 1945, i.e., 7 days after the announcement of Bose's death by the Tokyo Radio. The Viceroy of India in 1945 approved this 'Note' and carried it to London for its final approval by the British Cabinet. The U.K. Cabinet, with Mr. Attlee in the chair, cleared this 'Note' on October 25, 1945, i.e., 67 days after the report of Netaji's alleged death. This 'Note' included various alternatives "regarding treatment of Bose" : namely to "(a), bring him back to India and try him either for waging war or under the Enemy Agents Ordinance ; (b) have him tried by a Court in Burma or Malaya for waging war against the King in that country ; (c) have him tried by a military court outside India ; (d) intern him in India ; (e) intern him in some British possession i.e., Seychelles Islands".

After analysing the pros and cons of all these suggested measures to punish and execute or intern Bose,-the 'Note' finally decided to :

"LEAVE HIM WHERE HE IS AND DON'T ASK FOR HIS SURRENDER..... IN MANY WAYS THE EASIEST COURSE WOULD BE TO LEAVE HIM WHERE HE IS AND NOT ASK FOR HIS RELEASE. HE MIGHT, OF COURSE, IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES BE WELCOMED BY THE RUSSIANS. THIS COURSE WOULD RAISE FEWEST IMMEDIATE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES".

Could there be any other more definite revelation than the above 'Note' that the British Government knew quite positively where Netaji escaped and where he was compelled to stay for the reason beyond his control ? Notwithstanding this positive information regarding the whereabouts of Bose, the British Government considered it politically more prudent or expedient for them not to publicly disclose the matter at that time, nor to ask as well for his hand-over to them for his trial for waging war against the 'king' but "to leave him where he is". For 30 years the British Government withheld this explosive information from the



Indian people. They must have done it for the sake of their Imperialist interest, but what about our own Government, the first Government of Free India? What did they do for Netaji? Was it unknown to them where Netaji was compelled to stay for unavoidable circumstances reason beyond his control?

On being fully conscious about the whereabouts of Netaji, the then Indian leaders deliberately suppressed the facts and circumstances leading to his disappearance out of vengeance and at the same time, for their political gain. The damage done by the predecessors of the present Prime Minister of India in regard to the investigations relating to the mysterious disappearance of Netaji is not beyond salvage. A fresh impartial 'investigative enquiry' and an all-out effort of the present Prime Minister to that effect can still unearth the hitherto untold story.



## APPENDIX- A

**INTERPRESS**

**Ausgabe Politik**

**335/1949**

(Internationaler Biographischer Pressdienst.)  
(International Biographic Press Service).

### **SUBHAS CHANDRA BASU**

The fact is being gradually embodied from the contemporary events that Subhas Chandra Basu, the Indian Revolutionist, who was declared dead in an air-crash after the Second World-War, is waiting for an opportunity to hold his grip over the political back-ground of Asia.

### **BABU BOSE: MANN HINTER DEN FRONTEN. (MAN BEHIND THE FRONT.)**

There has been a nuclear explosion by the side of India in October last, which is of a political nature and experimental only. But it has been inevitably resulted in. It came to be known within a few days by a radio announcement that Subhas Chandra Basu, the lost Indian Revolutionist, might deliver a speech over the Communist Radio of Peking. Of course, nothing has been heard after this mysterious announcement. But nobody said that he had a doubt that Shri Basu was actually alive. One thing more; just at that time, when such a type of epochmaking political explosion took place at the north of Himalayas, Shri Nehru who was once a colleague and at present in opposition to Shri Basu was found to be staying in Washington at the invitation of President Truman. Is this just a sudden event? Most of the Americans hoped that Shri Nehru would keep himself mum about this. Shri Nehru has done this. Of course he has said that he is ready to go to Moscow also if he be invited to go there. Did he understand from the outset of this incident that this event was a prologue for the advent of a man with a massive nuclear power? As Lenin, in the revolutionary moment of 1917, reached Russia singling out Germany as his destination, Shri Basu also has once more adopted that measure for the interest of India.

It was this Basu who appeared in Tokyo directly within a year after his meeting with Hitler in May, 1942. The mystery how this dauntless expedition became possible in this war-ravaged Eastern Hemisphere of the world, has not yet come to light. But it was sure that Hitler had helped him by providing longranged aeroplanes, U-Boats, Blockade-brakers and many other war-materials. Shri Basu, perhaps, considered the U-Boat expedient for his journey. The way of his disappearance from India secretly, in January, 1941, was dangerous too. Only at the age of sixteen, school student Shri Basu had once left for the Himalayas as a lonely and helpless visitor and roamed about from temple to temple in search of the eternal truth. This anti-British man had acquired the art of disguise accurately, while he was a student at the University of Cambridge. During his stay in Vienna between 1932 and 1935, he had acquired the art of face make-up from an Indian residing abroad. A picture, entitled "The Tiger of Ishanpur" was being prepared in Germany under the direction of that man at that time. This skill became useful to him, when, in February, 1941, he succeeded to reach Kabul with a view to meet the German Ambassador in Afghanistan throwing dust in the vigilant eyes of the Indo-British rulers, in spite of the warrant of arrest against him. At last the Italian Embassy assigned an Italian name to him and gave him a false passport as an Italian national.



Ten years before this incident, he was once a guest of Mussolini during his journey from Vienna to Rome. But this time, he was eager to meet Hitler and Ribbentrop as soon as possible. His first destination was Berlin. He crossed the border of Germany as an assistant of a German Engineer and arranged for visiting Moscow as a foreign tourist. The journey to Moscow through the Caucasus was decided, be it well or worse. The Indian Shri Basu did not know Italian but could understand Russian a little. But the Soviet people thought him to be a veteran through his gesture and posture. He did not utter a single word in the Passport Department and had spent a week in a comfortable room of a train, taking, tea, milk, vodka and large amount of beef. This was a matter of immense mental strength for a Caste-Hindu like him. But nothing such was improper to the superstition-less revolutionist Shri Basu. It was known to the Russians that he deeply studied Bolshevism as well as Facism. And both Mussolini and Stalin were his ideals. So, Kremlin greeted him warmly. Not a single word was uttered against him from Moscow, when he extended his support to Hitler and the Japanese. In the summer of 1933, he pronounced that no Asian could lend his support in favour of Nazi Policy. But in 1942, when he put forward the proposal for the freedom-movement to the nation, he was convinced that Germany and Japan, the enemy of the British, would naturally lend their support to the Indians fighting for freedom.

But he did not find days well in Berlin. He went on waiting for months in the secluded room of a hotel with the hope to get some response. But he became utterly disappointed when he saw that the Soviet Union was attacked by war-monger Hitler. He remarked, "In this world war, this event is the gross error". Shri Basu then put some faith in Japan only. The participation of Japan in the Second World War suddenly brought about an unimaginable change in the South-East Asia, and, Shri Basu had played a great role in this political game of the world. He invaded Singapore and formed the Indian Revolutionary Government there. Accompanied by the Azad Hind Fauz equipped with Japanese arms and ammunitions, he marched towards India through Burma. This was well-known to him, as he had passed through it as a Prisoner many times on his way to the Mandalay Jail.

The Revolutionary Army marching towards the Indian border had not been taken by the Indians as traitors, rather, was welcomed as heroes. And their 'Leader' was Shri Basu himself.

There is a proverb in India, "A person who is declared dead before his death gets a prolonged life". There was, beforehand, a news at the outset of the last war, that Shri Basu had died in an air-crash. This False-News brought a lot of garlands and condolence-letters to the family of this man, who was already officially declared as a traitor, from every corner of the country. In spite of this, Gandhi could not agree with Mr. Nehru, the then leader of India, on this discussion. Gandhi remarked about this dangerous man that, "Whatever he may be, he is not an enemy of our country. He has helped to a great extent to get the freedom - movement advanced". Having heard this sad news in April, 1942, Gandhi wrote in a condolent letter to the mother of Shri Basu, "He is the great and heroic son of India". But after a few days, his voice was heard over radio.

Shri Basu has been again announced to be dead after the Second World War. This announcement is also the result of the joint proclamation of the Government and the Enquiry Commission of the Allied Powers. Though in a Broadcast from Tokyo, it has been announced that Shri Basu was wounded and was later dead in an air-crash on his way to Formosa from the Taihoku airport, none in the world has paid any heed to this news. No one in



India has at all believed it. On 21st October, 1946, after a year of this accident, the Inquiry Commission of the Allied Powers proclaimed the decision that Shri Basu had actually passed away on 18th August, 1945, in a military hospital in Formosa. But man like Gandhi declared later, that, according to their views, Shri Basu was still alive. The Government of India said that they could not declare Shri Basu to be dead. The elder brother of Shri Basu has remarked at a National Conference of India, "I know nothing about this". No news was collected from the citizens of Japan, who were in Tokyo, till the day when the American soldiers entered Tokyo. The bodyguard of Shri Basu saw a large and mysterious box with him on the day of his last departure.

No one has seen the body to be burning. Many experienced men of the East-Asia know that Japan announced many eminent persons to be "dead by air-crash" at the time of surrender. Subhas Chandra Basu, at the age of fifty, was man with good health, psychologically strong and a fore-seeing politician. Immediately after his joining with the Japanese, he had a doubt as to the result on the joint expedition of the Japanese army and his army. It can not be ignored that this strong and foreseeing man did not think for future. Was it now known to him how Moscow would utilise the Renaissance of Nationalism in Asia in the greater political game at present or in future?

In 1945, when a chaos was prevailing over the whole of China on the victory of the Allied Powers, he could have easily enter into the Soviet Border in exchange of immense gold kept with him and leave for Moscow in a special plane to keep himself underground in a lonely place there. Then what does the news about his secret journey by a Steamer to Irish Free State mean, of which the British Port-authorities were not at all aware, yet Mr. Galahar, the leader of the British Communist Party has referred to on the occasion of a discussion on the freedom-movement of India?

Millions of people in India still believe that there will be a change after an epoch, the result of which will make this country once more a heavenly one. BUDDHA-FACED, VETERAN YOGI SHRI BASU WILL, PERHAPS, ONCE BECOME THE FREEDOM-GIVER OF NOT ONLY INDIA BUT ALSO ASIA.

Another important event was his journey to Switzerland. Lenin had himself in Switzerland. The people of the world know the political thoughts of Shri Basu.

His immense influence has spread all over India. If he remains alive and that is to be sure possible - the whole world, then, one day, will hear again his speech.

28.10.1949

INTERPRESS. INTERNATIONAL BIOGRAPHIC  
PRESS SERVICE.  
PUBLICATION CODE 335/1949.



APPENDIX B

21, BEADON STREET,  
CALCUTTA-6

14th Feb. 1953.

Dear Mr. Nair,

I am thankful for your letter dated the 5th instant.

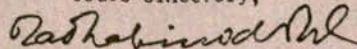
It is really surprising that my name should be used in that manner. I did not go to any temple either with or without the ambassador to see the alleged ashes. As a matter of fact I could not accept as true the story of Netaji's death at Formosa. In any case I feel that the whole thing demands a thorough investigation. Statements by individuals made here and there will not convince me as to the truth of the story given out. I have reasons to doubt its correctness.

I am glad that Mr. Shimonaka and Mr. Tanaka are doing their best to educate the public mind of Japan. Satyen has come back. He tells me that Mr. Shimonaka has already engaged a house near Yokohama for starting the school that I suggested during my last visit. I shall indeed be happy if the scheme materializes.

Kindly remember me to all my Japanese friends and convey to them my best regards.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,



(RADHABINOD PAL)



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284

Embassy of India  
Moscow

48

I accompanied Mr. Chitta Basu, MP, to the Institute of Oriental Studies where he had a meeting with Dr. Kutzenkov.

2. As desired, <sup>by Mr. Basu</sup> summary of the discussions, a copy of which has been given to Mr. Basu, is enclosed herewith for information of the Ambassador.



( B.K. Gogoi )  
Counsellor & HOC  
25.10.1996

Ambassador

pl examine & speak

Chirp

11/10/96



also a reference to the sudden disappearance of Netaji from Calcutta in January 1941.

DOCUMENT No.5 - EXTRACTS FROM A BOOK TITLED SOCIAL IDEA OF INDIA: PAST AND PRESENT BROUGHT OUT BY THE CENTRAL SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN OFFICE

The document confirms that at the last moment, Netaji got transit visa and passport in the name of Orlando Mazotta and he succeeded in going to Berlin from Kabul. This document leans heavily on the book by Bhagat Ram Talwar titled The Talwars of Pathanland Subhash Chandra's Great Escapes (New Delhi, 1976). (Bhagat Ram Talwar was one of Netaji's associates who arranged for his stay in Kabul.)

Prof. Raikov in the second part of his article on Netaji published in Soviet Land in January 1991 mentions that after the war Netaji was planning to contact the Soviet command in Mukden and that the plane which was carrying him was to touch down there. Prof. Raikov mentions the "legend" persisting in India that Netaji actually crossed over to USSR but offers no helpful comment on its veracity.

The Soviet documents given to our Mission do not shed additional light on Netaji's stay in USSR in March 1941 on his way to Berlin. In these documents the fact of Netaji's death in a plane crash in August 1945 is accepted. However, it seems probable that Soviets may have more information on Netaji considering that Soviets acknowledge that even when Germany attacked USSR, Netaji remained supportive of USSR. The Soviets would have carefully followed Netaji's activities.

9.4.1991



# Subhas Chandra Bose's Escape in January 1941

By Prof. A. RAIKOV



II

ON January 27, 1941, the *Hindustan Standard* reported that Subhas Chandra Bose had suddenly disappeared. The sensational news shocked the whole of Calcutta and India. Kept under house arrest, Bose was to have appeared before the British colonial court shortly to answer the charges of having indulged in anti-British activity. But when two policemen arrived at his home on Elgin Road in Calcutta, they were unable to find him. Crowds of curious onlookers gathered in front of his house hoping to hear some details. On January 28 all Calcutta newspapers carried banner headlines on Bose's mysterious disappearance.

It turned out that in the last few days Bose had not kept in touch even with his relatives. He had shut himself up in his study and was growing a beard. The British authorities took unprecedented measures to recapture him, ordering the police and the intelligence service to establish tight vigil at seaports, airfields, and railroad stations. But in actual fact Bose had escaped as early as the night of January 16-17 and by that time was beyond the British police's reach in Afghanistan. Then he appeared in Berlin, spending about 24 months in Germany and leaving in February 1943.

What could have brought the Indian national leader to the capital of Nazi Germany, that had unleashed a global massacre and become evil incarnate to mankind? Had Bose intended to go to Berlin from the very beginning?

During the war the Allied Powers' press accused Subhas Chandra Bose of having sympathies for Nazism. What was his real attitude towards Nazism and Nazi Germany? In the 1930s Bose repeatedly visited Germany and other European countries, met many political and public figures, gave interviews, and wrote for the press; there is, therefore, plenty of written material to enable us to throw some light on this issue.

Subhas Chandra Bose's attitude towards Nazism was not permanent and unequivocal. He did not understand its class essence and at first hoped that "the new German nation, that has risen to understand its national might, will instinctively sympathise with the other nations endeavouring in the same direction". Bose's approach to Nazism was solely determined by his attitude towards the colonial peoples' national-liberation struggle, but very soon he realised that Nazism was the sworn enemy of the national-liberation movement in India and throughout the world.

At that time Subhas Chandra Bose was on friendly terms with the Kurti family which lived in Germany. "I was also glad to note his deep contempt for the Nazis, a feeling which he did not attempt to hide from us," recalled K. Kurti. In one of his letters to the Kurtis, Bose wrote that, in his view, the atmosphere in Germany was "suffocating". Bose condemned suppression of freedom, and the anti-Semitic sentiments in Nazi Germany. He found Hitler's anti-Semitic statements in *Mein Kampf* deeply offensive. "We cannot brook any insult from any other nation or any attack on our race or culture," Bose wrote to the well-known German Indologist, Dr. F. Tietfelder.

In short, Subhas Chandra Bose did not at all sympathise with Nazism and its ideology. At the same time, he considered Britain not only an oppressor and enemy of India but a "great obstacle to human development in general". But Bose did not realise that Nazism had already become the shock force of world imperialism and, hence, the main enemy of world progress. Germany attracted him to a certain extent as Britain's enemy.

When World War II broke out, Subhas Chandra Bose was going to use the then prevailing international situation in the interests of India. He took into account the fact that the USSR was not involved in the war till mid-1941, that it had always stood by the national-liberation movement, and that Soviet-British relations had been unfriendly since the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact and the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish war.

Numerous memoirs published to date show that Subhas Chandra Bose wanted to leave for the USSR to secure its support in some form or other for the Indian freedom movement. The Communists were the first to be informed of Bose's plans. Thus, Bose met Achchar Singh Cheema in 1940 to discuss his departure for the USSR. The Punjab organisation sent Ram Kishan to Kabul to establish contacts with the Soviet Embassy and then to go to the USSR to arrange for Bose's arrival.

It took Ram Kishan a long time to accomplish his mission. The Soviet Embassy turned him down. Achchar Singh was also later sent to Kabul. At their own risk, he and Ram Kishan decided to penetrate into Soviet territory. Ram Kishan got drowned while crossing the border river, and Achchar Singh encountered Soviet frontier guards, who sent him to Moscow. "My impression was that owing to the international situation prevailing at that time the Soviet Union was very cautious and did not want to embarrass the British," he recalled. Indeed, the two powers began to draw closer to each other in view of the mounting Nazi threat. Stafford Cripps, a Labour left-winger, was appointed British Ambassador to the USSR. Achchar Singh was given no practical promises, but Soviet frontier posts were instructed to grant free access to Bose, who had been informed of Achchar Singh's mission and decided to start carrying out his plan.

Subhas Chandra Bose distracted the police agents' attention and escaped from his house. One cannot say for certain to this day whether the agents were bribed or simply neglected their duties.

He left Calcutta in a car driven by his nephew Sasir Bose. At a small station he took a train to Peshawar. Pretending to be a deaf mute, Bose crossed the Afghan border and arrived in Kabul, accompanied by Bhagat Ram Talwar and several others.

The greatest problem was how to meet Soviet Ambassador Konstantin Mikhailov. The Soviet Embassy's gate was always closed and guarded by Afghan policemen. Subhas Chandra Bose had crossed the border illegally and had no documents with him. Talwar finally managed to stop the Soviet Ambassador's car. This was a dramatic moment that predetermined Bose's destiny. Talwar, who had poor command of Persian, explained to Mikhailov that the man standing at a distance was Bose. "Why should I believe that this is really Subhas Chandra Bose?" asked the Ambassador. "How can I help you without any proof of his identity?" The car drove off and the opportunity was missed.

Why did Mikhailov not find out if the man was really Bose? The USSR's international situation was very complicated in the last pre-war months. Soviet officials abroad had to take extra precautions. Add to this the internal situation



in the USSR. Stalin's pre-war repressions had caused great damage to Soviet diplomacy. Soviet diplomats were deprived of any opportunity to show initiative. Any reckless step threatened the Ambassador with serious consequences in the then atmosphere of spy phobia. Later it became known that, in Mikhailov's view, the "provocation" had been staged by the British, who wanted to set the USSR and Afghanistan at loggerheads; he expressed this view in a conversation with a German residing in Kabul.

After that failure Subhas Chandra Bose had no way out but to apply to the embassies of the Axis Powers. He got in touch with the Italians and met Ambassador Caroni. The Ambassador said that Bose would be delivered to Rome or Berlin. Then Bose was received by German Ambassador Pilger who immediately informed Berlin of his meeting. The Germans acted promptly and resolutely. They saw that Bose was "big game" and hoped for serious diplomatic advantages in case of his arrival in Berlin.

In a telegram to its Ambassador in Moscow, Von Schulenburg, on February 9, the German Foreign Ministry reported that Bose was in Kabul and could be delivered to Berlin. The telegram asked the German Embassy to find out if Moscow would agree to his transit across Soviet territory and if it would instruct its Ambassador in Kabul on this score. "Without attaching special political significance to this case, you should indicate that we view it just as a problem of personal asylum," ran the telegram.

Von Schulenburg was given permission for the travel of Subhas Chandra Bose and he sent a telegram to Berlin on March 3: "The Commissar for Foreign Affairs has informed me that the Soviet government is ready to give a visa for Bose to go to Germany through Russia".

In the meantime, Subhas Chandra Bose was hiding from the British and Afghan police in Kabul. Uttam Chand, an Indian who helped Bose in that difficult period and provided him with shelter, recalled: "Bose was not happy about his forthcoming departure for Berlin or Rome." Even after his meetings with the Ambassadors of the Axis Powers, Bose did not give up his attempts to contact the Soviet Embassy. He asked Uttam Chand to find people who could arrange a meeting with Soviet officials. In a letter to the Soviet Ambassador Bose described in detail his escape from Calcutta and unsuccessful attempt to meet him. He asked a German citizen to turn over the letter to the Soviet Embassy. But the German Embassy did not want to lose sight of Bose, and returned the letter to him.

Asked by Uttam Chand why he was so eager to go to Moscow, Subhas Chandra Bose said: "The Russians and the Germans have just concluded a non-aggression pact. Germany is at war with Britain. Russia is an enemy of Britain. This is the time to go to Moscow and campaign for India's freedom." (Uttam Chand reproduced Bose's answer from his memory.) When Uttam Chand asked Bose if he was sure that the Soviets would allow him to engage in anti-British propaganda, he observed: "It may be that the friendship between Russia and Germany does not last long and they might go to war. But the political situation today is changing so fast that we do not know what may happen in the next 24 hours. ... Even if there is an undercurrent of hostility between Germany and Russia, the British, too, are no friends of Russia. I am sure the Russians will help me."

Uttam Chand testified that Subhas Chandra Bose did not want to confine himself to propaganda activities. He was going to ask Moscow for practical assistance. "I want to persuade the Russians to help us," he pointed out. Bose said that if he failed to arrive in Moscow via Kabul, he would do all he could to get there from Berlin or Rome. "Today Russia is the only country which can help to liberate India," stressed Bose. "No other country will help us. That is why I do not want to go anywhere else but Moscow." Uttam Chand noted that Subhas Chandra Bose had not said a good word about the Axis Powers over the 45 days of his contacts with their officials. "He hated them as much as the British," added Uttam Chand.

Subhas Chandra Bose knew that the British police were after him and could at any moment capture him in Kabul. (A British agent interrogated Uttam Chand about two Indian fugitives, though by then it was too late.) But Bose did not abandon the idea of crossing the Soviet border. The route had been coordinated and a guide found to take Bose across the border for 7000 afghans. Bose was to have left Kabul one or two days later. It was then that the Italian Embassy reported that Bose's departure had been arranged. He decided not to take risks, crossing the Soviet border illegally. The Italian Embassy issued him a passport where he was registered as Orlando Mazzotta. Accompanied by two Germans and one Italian, Bose officially crossed the Soviet border and arrived in Moscow by rail.

There is no data available as to whether Subhas Chandra Bose made any fresh attempts to get in touch with the Soviet authorities. He crossed the Rubicon and all his subsequent activities were linked only with the Axis Powers. Bose spent only one night in Moscow and the next day flew to Berlin to face his fantastic fate. (To be continued)

# ENERGY FROM A VACUUM?

(Continued from page 42)

From the photograph of a nine-month-old child, Chernetskaya established precisely that he is now 21 years old and described the appearance of his bride, where she lives and what her hobbies are. It turned out that the girl likes to sew, and Chernetskaya described in detail the room where the sewing-machine stands.

Anchorman Viktor Balashov imagined the circuit of a complex acoustic device and pointed out exactly where a malfunction had occurred in it. Many specialists had tried for a long time to find it, but failed. Such examples can be multiplied—we have conducted hundreds of experiments.

You have delivered several reports at the symposium. These reports dealt with psychotronics. The latter carries out the technical simulation of phenomenal human abilities. Have you conducted research in this field too?

At first we became convinced that a human field can influence diverse animate and inanimate objects. Then we began simulating bioenergetic processes with technical facilities, for instance, the generator of the self-generating discharge.

According to our concept, the emission of this generator and that of man have something in common: they emit waves with a longitudinal component, which are supplied with the energy of a physical vacuum.

For instance, persons with extrasensory abilities brought their hands close to another instrument—a fully screened quartz generator and mentally influenced it. Usually it possesses a very high stability and operates at a strict frequency. But here, in spite of the screens, the frequency suddenly changed by an order of magnitude. Then it varied by another order of magnitude, and still then by three orders of magnitude. It was clear that the wave with a longitudinal component penetrates through the screens and alters the structure of the elements of the quartz generator.

Such changes in the frequency were caused by the generator of the self-generating discharge. Like the hands of people with extrasensory abilities, it gives many other effects. For example, it alters the resistance of resistors by more than 10 per cent. It even alters the rate of radioactive beta-disintegration, which seemed to be absolutely stable, by five per cent.

The use of our generator in agriculture can be very effective. It seems unbelievable but we succeeded in increasing the rate of the growth of the seeds of wheat and beans and to raise the storage time of vegetables by five to six times.

Today the aura is much spoken about. It is claimed that the aura is seen by people with extrasensory perception around human beings and other living creatures. Can the aura be recorded by instruments? What is its physical meaning?

These envelopes also form around inanimate objects—for instance, a generator of self-generating discharge. We have measured them around people, plants and instruments with the electrometric sensor. Their electric fields had a periodic structure. It seemed that they were pulsating. Such periodicity is not typical either of the static field or the travelling wave. But this phenomenon can be well explained by our concept: living creatures and the generator emit electromagnetic waves with a longitudinal component.

It is worth mentioning that the structure of the envelope around the generator is preserved when it is switched off. This can be explained by the fact that the emitted wave receives energy from the physical vacuum. But the most wonderful thing of all is that it is possible to mentally create the image of a man or a generator in any place, for instance, in the corner of a room, and the instruments will record the envelopes of this phantom. If this image is then mentally blurred, the "envelopes" will vanish—the instruments will not indicate anything. This shows that the human brain can emit waves with a longitudinal component. They impart a definite structure to a physical vacuum or destroy it.

These results seem striking: they confirm the age-old idea of the material nature of all ideas. As the ancient Greeks said, "a thought hovers in the air". You have succeeded in recording these waves instrumentally. Does that mean hallucinations, apparitions, ghosts and even gods are real? Are they the products of the human brain?

Our research makes it possible to find answers to eternal problems of philosophy—about life, death and immortality. But today theories are not the main thing. We have to save our Earth right now, it is seriously ill thanks to irrational human activity. It is necessary, as soon as possible, to start the implementation of vacuum energetics, to save the planet from the threat of destruction as a result of the unbridled exploitation of conventional energy sources.

However, the main thing is to overcome the moral crisis which we have been led into by the stand of the conquerors of nature. We really have conquered ourselves. But the better man understands his opportunities, the greater will be his remorse for the evil he has done to our sick planet and the greater will be the thirst for saving nature and hence humanity.



# NETAJI TAKES A LEAP IN THE DARK

By Prof. A. RAIKOV

## III

A Japanese double-engine bomber took off from Taipei aerodrome in Taiwan on August 17, 1945. The war was over since the Emperor of Japan had already declared the unconditional surrender of his army. All weapons had been removed from the plane and it was not going on a combat mission. It was carrying several Japanese officers led by Lieutenant-General Shidei. The plane was to make a stop in Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, and then continue on its course to Tokyo.

Besides the group of Japanese, there were two unusual passengers, one of whom was Subhas Chandra Bose, the leader of the Provisional Government of Independent India set up in Singapore in 1943, and the other was his aide-de-camp Habib-ur-Rahman. With them they had two heavy suitcases of jewelry, rings, bracelets and earrings—donations made by Indians living in Malay and Burma to Bose's government to aid its struggle for the liberation of the homeland.

The plane was overloaded and its rundown engines could barely get it off the ground. It had hardly gained the necessary altitude when the propeller broke off and despite the desperate efforts of the pilots, the plane crashed down, broke in two and burst into flames. The pilots and General Shidei were killed outright. Bose was badly burned and died several hours later in a Taipei hospital.

Subhas Chandra Bose, whose death shocked the entire Indian nation, took with him into the grave a mystery that historians have not been able to figure out to this day: Where was he heading? What were his plans? Was the Japanese capital his destination? Many researchers doubt that and advance a hypothesis which says that Bose was going to the Soviet Union.

To answer that question we have to go back a number of years. In early April 1941 Bose was in the capital of Nazi Germany erroneously thinking that he would receive assistance for the cause of the liberation of India from the sworn enemy of the British Empire.

Yet the thought of the Soviet Union as a state that was well-disposed to India never left Bose and, what is more, it made him to take unexpected and even dangerous steps. For instance, on May 3, 1941, that is, several weeks before Germany attacked the USSR, he wrote in his memorandum to the German government: "In any case, the indirect help of Soviet Russia or Turkey is necessary for opening up a channel of communication between Germany, on the one side, and Afghanistan and India, on the other." Apparently, he was aware of the approaching attack on the USSR because the following words (no matter how naive they may seem) showed that he wanted to prevent Germany from attacking the Soviet Union.

"For the success of the task of exterminating British power and influence from the Near and Middle East, it is desirable that the status quo between Germany and Soviet Russia should be maintained."

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Bose was in Rome. On his return to Berlin in early July he met State Secretary Woermann of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One can only wonder at Bose, who in the heart of the fascist system dared openly to express his views on the newly-launched war.

"The Soviet Union has been popular in India especially among the intellectuals from whom the leaders are drawn. India believes that the Soviet Union is an anti-imperialist power and, hence, India's ally against Britain... In the German-Russian war the sympathies of the Indian people are clearly on the side of Russia, because they see that Germany is the aggressor and as such it represents an imperialist threat to India. Even if Germany wins complete victory over Russia, it will be difficult to change Indian public opinion on this matter."

In his report on the meeting with Bose, Woermann pointed out with some irritation that Bose was strongly influenced by the Soviet interpretation of the causes of the German-Russian conflict.

When Indian POWs were organized into the Indian Legion on German territory under Bose's leadership, the latter made a clear stipulation that under no circumstances was the legion to be sent to the Soviet-German front.

Very soon Bose understood that no real assistance was to be expected from Nazi Germany. Suffice it to say that Hitler made him wait more than a

year before he gave him an audience, and when he did, Bose was unable to elicit even a simple statement of his recognition of India's right to independence.

In 1943, Bose made a dangerous voyage in a submarine to South-East Asia where he hoped to enlist Japan's aid and the support of the three-million strong Indian community living in the area in the struggle against Britain. The Provisional Government set up by Bose declared war on Britain and the USA, but not on the Soviet Union which was a member of the anti-Hitler coalition.

With time he realised that it was just as hopeless to try to get Japan to assist in the liberation of India as it was to get Germany to do so. As the downfall of the axis drew closer, Bose understood that he had looked for allies in the wrong places. Again and again he returned to his former plan of establishing contact with the Soviet government.

Japanese sources possess especially revealing data on the question. It is from them that we learn that as early as November 1943, when Bose was in Tokyo, he visited Dr. S. Okawa, Professor of Philosophy, and literally shocked him by declaring that he could unite with Russia for the purpose of smashing Britain. Evidently, the idea took definite form after Japan's failure in the Imphal Operation in 1944 in which the units of the Indian National Army created under the leadership of Bose took part. Even before the end of that operation Bose had a talk with Vice-Admiral Chudo, commander of the Japanese fleet in the Burma area, in which he discussed the idea of making an incursion into India from a completely different direction, from Central Asia, that is, from Soviet territory.

Japanese authors tend to present the situation in a way that would show that it was the Japanese who gave Bose the idea of addressing the Soviet government, and promised him all possible support in the matter. For one thing, that is what F. Saito and T. Hayashida write and what is said in the official report of the 4th Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan which was published in 1956. They even mention the names of some high-ranking Japanese army officers who had given Bose such advice.

Bose started to make preparations for this important step in his own way. Of great interest was his speech to the students of Tokyo University in which he devoted much time to the question of India's attitude towards the Soviet Union. Bearing in mind that Japan was the ally of Nazi Germany which was fighting against the USSR and that it was also hatching aggressive plans against the country back in the days of the battle of Stalingrad in 1942, we have to admit that Bose's speech was an expression of defiance.

He said that India was studying the experience of the land of the Soviets with the greatest attention and that it found the methods of accelerated industrialisation most attractive. He also spoke of the successful solution of the problem of ethnic minorities. He told the Japanese students that Rabindranath Tagore had been very much impressed by Soviet Russia's achievements in the development of public education. He put special emphasis on the fact that the Soviet Union had secured the unity of the country. He pointed out that despite "so many different races professing so many different religions, the country was unified in one political system and became such a strong power". Proceeding from this experience he maintained that "there is absolutely no reason why India, which has more homogeneity than the Soviet Union, should not be united as one nation".

It is true that by making several critical remarks Bose softened somewhat the "pro-Soviet character" of his speech. He rejected the idea of class struggle pointing out that since India was an agricultural country, the "problem of peasants" was far more important than the "problem of the working class". He also came out against "the overstatement of the economic factor" so characteristic of Marxism. But on the whole, the tenor of Bose's speech did not chime with the Japanese propaganda of the day. For instance, he never once mentioned Japan's "liberating mission" in Asia and said nothing about "the great East-Asia co-prosperity sphere", the pet theme of Japanese mass media. We can assess Bose's speech as an attempt to attract the attention of the Soviet Embassy and prepare the ground for establishing contact. After all, the press was bound to report on his meeting with the students.

But to establish contact Bose required the cooperation of Japanese officials. He turned to the representatives of the army and navy and insisted



that they arrange a meeting between him and the Soviet Ambassador Y. Malik. However, the answer was that only Foreign Minister Shigemitsu could help him. When Bose went to see Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister was clearly irritated and responded with icy silence to his request. Persistence in achieving his goal was one of Bose's most characteristic traits. Upon returning to his hotel after the talk with Shigemitsu, Bose wrote to the Soviet Ambassador a long letter and sent it by messenger. The Secretary at the Embassy returned the letter unopened because the Soviet Embassy staff knew Bose as a person who cooperated with the axis. Bose burned the letter and its contents remained unknown.

In Shanghai on his way back from Tokyo, Bose met Anand Mohan Sahay, an Indian who had lived for a long time in Japan. Bose asked him to go to Tokyo and try to establish contact with Malik. What he wanted, apparently, was a preliminary talk without any definite message.

After the war, questioned by the members of a special committee appointed by the Indian government to investigate the circumstances of Bose's death, Sahay confirmed the fact that he had tried to fulfil the task entrusted to him by Bose. To begin with, he had tried to clarify Shigemitsu's and the Minister of Internal Affairs Uzawa's doubts regarding the issue, but they told him it was useless to try to contact the Soviet Ambassador. They did not make the least effort to really help Bose in the matter.

The above shows that by 1944 Bose was convinced that the axis would soon be annihilated and was concerned about finding a new base for his activities, believing that the Soviet Union would be most suitable for the purpose. After his return from Tokyo he discussed the problem with his associates many times surmising that the military alliance of the USSR and Britain and the USA was temporary and the day was not far when it would fall apart.

He even voiced the thought that in the next ten years war between the former allies would be inevitable.

In the middle of 1945, after the defeat of Germany and a number of setbacks suffered by the Japanese army in South-East Asia, Bose decided that the time had come to act on his plan and take decisive steps. He went straight to the Japanese government so that it should, in his name, forward to the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo his request to go to the Soviet Union. But the Japanese government did not have the least desire to help him in this matter which was so vital to him. In June he received the following reply: "Nippon Government deems it almost without hope of success to get directly in touch with the Soviet Government on behalf of Your Excellency, and it has no intention of doing so."

The situation changed drastically after the Soviet Union declared war on Japan in August 1945. Japan found itself on the brink of a national catastrophe and the Indian National Army in Burma and Malay was in a dramatic situation. On August 16 Bose, who was in Saigon at the time, appealed once again to the Japanese government saying that he and other members of the Indian Provisional Government would like to go to the Soviet Union. His associates said later that he believed that in the beginning the Soviet side would treat him as a war prisoner, but after a while he would have the opportunity of working in one way or another towards Indian independence. The reply from Tokyo was sharper than in June. It said that it was "dishonest" on the part of Bose to appeal to the Soviet Union after he had enjoyed the support of Japan. The reply was another confirmation of Tokyo's utter indifference to the liberation movement in India.

Nonetheless, he got the Japanese military to cooperate. Field Marshal Terauchi, who was in Saigon at the time, decided to take the risk of helping Bose and gave orders that two Indians should be given seats in a bomber flying out from Bangkok to Japan. The Field Marshal's step may be explained by his desire to do Britain damage and, in parting, drive a wedge between her and the Soviet Union.

It was no accident that the plane carrying Bose was to touch down in Mukden. Obviously, General Shidei had an important government mission because according to his interpreter, the general was considered an expert on Russian affairs and "was regarded an important figure in the coming negotiations with Russia." More than that, Bose was to alight in Mukden to carry out his plan of contacting the Soviet command. In his own words it was "a leap in the dark." The disaster cut the leap short.

However, to this day the legend persists in India that Netaji did not die but got to Mukden and was seen, according to one version, in a Siberian prison, or entering the Kremlin, according to another one. Though that is mere hearsay, it reflects one real fact, which is that the Indian liberation movement had always shown a strong tendency towards interaction first with the revolutionary movement in Russia and later the Soviet Union. The tradition found distinct reflection in the life of Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of complex political destiny.

## MALCOLM McDOWELL, A REGICIDE FOR \$2,000,000

Malcolm McDowell will star in Karen Shakhnazarov's new film *Regicide* as Yakov Yurovsky who was responsible for the shooting of the royal family. According to well-informed sources, the approximate sum of his fee will be two million dollars.

This film is being made by the Start Studios, Mosfilm, and financed by the British SPEC Group company specialising in the production of computers. Mosfilm has signed an agreement with SPEC on the establishment of a joint venture called SPECFILM.

McDowell said in an interview he had agreed because he liked Alexander Brodsky's script and Karen Shakhnazarov. Below we publish the text of an interview granted by him to our correspondent.

Why do you think Shakhnazarov chose you for this role?

I don't understand this myself. Perhaps he wants an actor with a fresh view of that time.

There is an opinion that the methods of Soviet directors differ from those used in the West. Why have you agreed to take part in a Soviet film?

The American system of film production is very strict. Three minutes of filming per day are worth twenty million. Money determines everything. The Soviet Union has not yet been drawn into this system, and creativity is still possible here.

Are the terms of this contract different from your usual ones?

Popular actors, as a rule, receive a sum with six zeroes. But in this particular case I have agreed because I earned a lot in my previous film and can afford to do something pleasant for a change. I like the script, the director and I like it here.

Does this mean that your impression about the Soviet Union have surpassed your expectations?

No. The condition of your country and people gives the impression of a steam locomotive without steam. Everything is in disarray and neglected. But the worst thing is that nothing is personified and individuality is in a bog.

The film you are starring in show a time difficult and unusual for Russia. How do you, a person unfamiliar with Russian problems, see it?

I read books about Russia. Besides, all essential information is within the script. It is very rich and I do not have any difficulties.

In the film you play the part of Yakov Yurovsky, a Jew who shot the last Russian Tsar. The involvement of Jews in the Russian Revolution, which is being closely studied today by the right-wing and makes both right- and left-wingers nervous, is in the public eye. Have you studied this problem?

As an actor I am not concerned with it, though it annoys me much. Your problem does not lie in Jews, Mongols, or Tatars. The thing is that your country is very big and difficult to manage. It has to be divided into small independent states, the way it is done in the USA where California, for example, or other states are independent entities. The time shown in the film—the years 1917 and 1918—is similar to the current situation. Of course, the revolution today is happening not in the physical sense, but in the psychology of people and society.



Malcolm McDowell



# Netaji's Great Escapade: A Puzzling Aspect

*Those were great puzzles.*

And they were related to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's utmost and frantic efforts to secure political asylum in the Soviet Union, and from there to launch the final assault on the British Rule in India during the first phase of World War II. For this purpose this great patriot organised his great escapade to Kabul with the help of the Communist Party of India which deputed one of their leading cadres in the North Western Frontier Province, Bhagat Ram Talwar, who escorted Subhas Chandra as a loyal companion and guide from Peshawar to Kabul.

There are two aspects of these puzzles -- one related to the Soviet Union and the other to the Communist Party of India. And they call for special attention on the basis of their separate and individual character.

Let us take the Soviet aspect first. We divide this aspect into two separate questions for proper consideration, and they are: why Subhas Chandra wanted to seek asylum in the Soviet Union and carry out his plan of liberating India with Soviet help from the British imperialist stranglehold, and why Moscow finally declined Subhas Chandra's request.

Subhas Chandra saw the outbreak of the World War II in September 1939, following the signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries, Herr Von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Mikhailovitch Molotov, in Moscow on August 23 that year, as an opportunity for



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

taking advantage to liberate India from the British yoke. Seeing that the country's premier political organisation, the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Gandhiji, was not prepared to utilise this opportunity, he himself decided to take the plunge, following the footprints of earlier revolutionaries who tried to secure German and other external help during World War I for the same purpose, though without effective results for various reasons. Among them were the heroes like Raja Mahendra Pratap,

Maulana Barkatullah, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Abani Mukherji, Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, Dr. Vishnu Sukhtan, Shyamji Krishna Verma, Pandurang Sadashiva Khankhoje, Vinayak Savarkar, Suren Kar, Sardar Ajit Singh, Lala Hardayal, to mention just a few. In Kabul was set up the Provisional Government of Independent India on December 1, 1915, with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President, Maulana Barkatullah as Prime Minister, Obeidullah Sindhi as Home Minister, Champak Raman Pillai as



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Foreign Minister, Maulana Mohammed Bashir as Defence Minister, etc. Raja Mahendra Pratap was received by the Kaiser himself, and some time after the Soviet Revolution in 1917, Lenin also received the President of the

Provisional Government of Independent India. Further, the names and the roles of "Berlin Committee", "Ghadar Party", etc. are too well-known for repetition here. Shiploads of arms supplies were sent to Indian shores for the use of Indian revolutionaries, but could not reach them due to British surveillance. The glorious fight undertaken by five valiant revolutionaries, led by Jatindranath Mukherjee (respected under the name of Baaghaa Jatin for his heroic anti-British exploits against the police forces headed by, the notorious Calcutta Police Commissioner Sir Charles Taggart, Balasore's District Magistrate Mr. Kilvy and the Shore battery Captain Ratherford on the Balasore coast was an instance in this regard.

Despite widespread accusation unleashed by interested quarters against Subhas Chandra as having sympathies for Nazism, he considered Nazism as "the sworn enemy" of the national liberation movement in India and all over the world. His anti-Nazism posture was quite evident in his private and public utterances, including his letters to the Kurti family and others. In the 1930s, during his visit to Germany Subhas Chandra became friendly to this Jewish family (of Kitty and Alex Kurti).

On the other hand he had noted that the Soviet Union since its inception stood for India's independence; further, the Soviet-British relations became "quite unfriendly" since the "Great Betrayal at Munich of September, 1938", more particularly after the German-Soviet Pact of August 1939 as well as

Soviet-Finnish War beginning November, 1939.

Subhas Chandra began planning for his projected Soviet Mission as early as February 1940, and ultimately he left Calcutta in disguise in the night of January 16, 1941. He reached Peshawar on January 19, 1941, and Kabul in the morning of January 27. Then began the efforts to contact the Soviet Embassy, but without much success. However, on February 2, Bhagat Ram Talwar was able to spot and stop the car in which the Soviet Ambassador Konstantin Mikhaïlov was travelling but that chance meeting also did not produce any desired result.

What options a disappointed Subhas Chandra then left with? Either he could continue to stay



incognito in Kabul or return to India, or go to some other country antagonistic to British Imperialism for asylum, and carry out his plan of liberation war. He chose the last as a "lesser evil". Because the former two options were fraught with dangers of getting apprehended by the British secret service agencies ultimately ending on the gallows for "conspiring to wage a war against the King Emperor". So efforts then began on February 2 itself to contact the German Embassy in Kabul who responded to them. But as the Germans took longer time to get a final word from Berlin so an impatient freedom-fighter Subhas Chandra, apprehending trouble from local intelligence men, did not like to wait any further. Through the good offices of the diplomats in the

German Embassy a contact was established with the Italian Embassy on February 22. At last through Italian arrangement, Subhas Chandra left Kabul, with an Italian passport and a Sicilian name Orlando Mazotta, for Berlin via Moscow on March 18, 1941, after spending 46 days of uncertainty and anxiety in Kabul, and 56 days after he clandestinely left Calcutta.

Now the question, why the Soviets allowed him safe passage to Berlin but did not grant him political asylum to carry out his anti-imperialist programme from Soviet soil? The only answer to this question can be that for its own reasons Moscow did not at that time like to antagonise Britain by allowing Subhas Chandra to use its soil for anti-British activities. At the same time Moscow allowed Subhas Chandra to go to Berlin for implementing his plan, and the Soviet government did not take any antagonistic move against the Indian patriot.

Despite the German Soviet Non Aggression Pact, Moscow was always quite suspicious and apprehensive of Hitler's motivations on the one hand, and consequently on the other was not willing to embarrass the British, no doubt for its national interests. These two aspects of the Soviet policy began to get intensified following widespread rumours about impendency of peace in the context of President Roosevelt's special envoy, Sumner Well's "Mission to Europe" and talks in Rome, Berlin, Paris and London during February-March, 1940. It was quite possible that by that time the Soviet Union was in possession of certain highly secret intelligence regarding the Nazi plan which unfolded itself in a massive armed attack on the entire Soviet-German front on June 22, 1941. And that prior intelligence made the Soviet leadership, for their national interests, to avoid causing



embarrassment to the British with a view to keeping their own options open for future understanding with Britain in a fight against Nazism. It is no more a secret that within three days of Adolf Hitler's special envoy, Rudolf Hess, descending by parachute in Scotland on May 10, 1941, with a special message from the Nazi Fuehrer to the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the content of which reached Moscow, thanks to the double agent Kim Philby. In that message Hitler offered Churchill special terms in return for British neutrality or support in Germany's impending invasion of the Soviet Union. This was disclosed by a KGB official Col. Igor Frelin in London on May 11, 1990, while talking to reporters about the Soviet film on Philby. This seems all the more probable if we take into consideration the instructions the Soviet authorities had reportedly given to their border forces after Achhar Singh Cheena smuggled himself into the Soviet territory surreptitiously by crossing the border river Amu Darya in July 1940, for arranging for Subhas Chandra's projected Moscow Mission, and the Soviet government's decision and action in 1941. In this context it will be useful to quote what the Soviet Indologist, Prof. A. Raikov said in his article "Subhas Chandra Bose's Escape in January 1914" published in the December 1990, issue of *Soviet Land*, a Soviet Embassy publication from New Delhi. On page 46, Prof. Raikov said: "Achhar Singh was given no practical promises, but Soviet frontier posts were instructed to grant free access to Bose, who had been informed of Achhar Singh's mission and decided to start carrying out his plan".

As a matter of fact that was the time when Anglo-Soviet relations were becoming closer and comparatively more cordial in view of the

mounting Nazi threat. In a written reply to a question in the British Parliament on July 11, 1940, R. A. Butler, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that the policy of His Majesty's Government "has been and remains" to improve and strengthen relations between Britain and the USSR. He further emphasised: "success of the policy has appeared more likely since March this year, when the USSR made a friendly approach to His Majesty's Government and proposed trade negotiations". Earlier on May 28, 1940, the British Government announced the proposed visit to Moscow of a trade delegation under the leadership of Sir Stafford Cripps. But Moscow declined to receive any trade delegation. However, at the



same time it suggested that trade negotiations could be undertaken through British Ambassador in Moscow, if Sir Stafford was sent as the Ambassador. On June 6, 1940, London announced Sir Stafford's appointment as next British Ambassador in Moscow. Stalin received him in audience on July 1, 1940.

According to Prof. Raikov, Subhas Chandra spent only one night in the Soviet Capital, and the next day he was flown to Berlin.

After staying for about 24 months or so in the capital of the Third Reich, he left for the Baltic naval base of Kiel by train, where he boarded a German submarine to begin his historic 3-month-long underwater journey to the Far East. He reached Singapore on July 2, 1943.

Organisation and strengthening of

the Indian National Army and subsequent proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on October 21, 1943, were startling instances of Subhas Chandra's remarkable organisational ability for the cause of the country's freedom.

In his book, *Talwars of Pathanland and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape* published in June 1976 by the CPI's publishing concern, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, Bhagat Ram Talwar has given a day-to-day account of Subhas Chandra's activities since his arrival in Peshawar on January 19, 1941, till his safe departure for Moscow from Kabul on March 18, 1941. He also described Subhas Chandra's departure scene saying "that it was still dark when the car drove out with Netaji" and adding: "Before that Netaji gave me a vigorous handshake, embraced me very affectionately and told me in the presence of Crishnini, 'You have to put some other comrade to establish contact with the Soviet Embassy'. He almost became sentimental and could not say anything more while parting".

Talwar further recorded in his book the purpose of Subhas Chandra's Moscow Mission in the following words: "Netaji told him (Achhar Singh Cheena), inter alia, that in a situation where: (1) The rightist forces within the Congress had succeeded in dislodging him from the Congress Presidentship; (2) The leftist forces could not be mobilised against the Gandhites on the one hand, and the British, on the other; (3) Netaji was convinced that the British could not be driven out without an armed uprising in India; and as the Second World War had now created a good opportunity for such an uprising, he had decided on a policy of securing armed help from a friendly, anti-imperialist country, viz. the Soviet Union. He also made



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it clear that it was only the Communist Party which could help him in his bid for escape". In the context of his good relations with the Communist Party of India and that Party's relationship with the Soviet Communist Party, the Ruling Party in the Soviet Union, he sought the CPI's support in the matter. It should not be forgotten that an uncompromising fighter for India's freedom as Subhas Chandra was, he noted that it was the 'small underground CPI that

issued an open appeal to the delegates of the 39th Annual Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress held in Ahmedabad in 1921, demanding the acceptance of complete independence as the goal of the national movement. Left-wing Khilafatist leader, Maulana Hazrat Mohani, who later in 1925 was the chairman of the Reception Committee for the first congress of the Communists held in Kanpore where the CPI was formed, moved the resolution for complete independence as the goal at the Ahmedabad Congress but received only nine votes. A similar resolution was moved by a known early Communist of the country, Maylapuram Singaravelu Chettiar, who presided over the First Congress of the Communists in 1925, at the Gaya Congress in 1922 but with no better result.

However, situation changed for the better in December 1927, when at the 45th Annual Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress held in Madras, a Communist delegate from Bombay K. N. Joglekar, moved a single sentence resolution saying: "This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence" and was adopted with full-throated support from the majority of the delegates including Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, both of whom were inspired by the

deliberations and decisions at the International Congress Against Imperialism held in Brussels from 10-15 February, 1927. In a resolution, the Brussels Congress, they recalled enthusiastically, accorded "its warm support to the Indian National Movement for the complete freedom of India" and expressed the "opinion that the liberation of India from foreign domination and all kinds of exploitation is an essential step in the full emancipation of the peoples of the world." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru represented the Indian National Congress and was the leader of the Indian delegation at the Brussels Congress. It may be noted that this was the first occasion when a resolution supporting India's movement for independence was



adopted by an international conference organised virtually under the aegis of Soviet patronage outside the Soviet territory, though "the flag of Indian independence" was first unfurled on foreign soil by Madame Bhikhaji Rustom Cama on August 22, 1907, at the Second International Socialist Congress held in Stuttgart.

At the time when Independence resolution was passed at the Madras Congress Session, Gandhiji was not present in the *pandal*. Later on his return he heard about its adoption and felt unhappy about it.

Early in 1928, at the initiative of the Communist and Leftist elements, the Independence for India League was set up with former Congress President, S. Srinivas Iyengar as its President and both Subhas Chandra and Jawaharlal as secretaries.

Subhas Chandra also witnessed what significant and solid support the Communists gave at the Calcutta Congress of 1928 against Gandhiji's resolution to dilute the Madras resolution on Independence. Describing this particular aspect of the Calcutta Congress, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, on page 563 of Volume I of his 2-volume *History of the Indian National Congress* (1935 edition) records: "The Calcutta session will be remembered for a demonstration in which labourers numbering over 50,000 men from neighbouring mill areas marched in an orderly fashion and saluted the National Flag hoisted in the Congress grounds, occupied the Pandal for nearly two hours, and passed their resolution deciding for Independence of India and then walked out."

After the return of Subhas Chandra from his European tour in 1936, his relations with the Communists improved further and consequently some leading Communists were made office-bearers of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee of which he was the President. A very close alliance developed among a section of the Congress, CPI, Forward Bloc and other radical elements under the banner of Left Coordination Committee which fully backed Subhas Chandra in his fight against the Gandhi-dominated right-wing in the Congress. Subhas Chandra was unanimously elected Congress President in 1938 for the Haripura session. But in 1939 when he sought re-election, Gandhiji opposed him tooth and nail. Gandhiji set up his own candidate. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who was defeated by a margin of 203 votes, while out of a total of 3307 delegate voters representing 40 lakh Congress members, only 2957 exercised their franchise, 1580 voting for Subhas Chandra and 1377 for Dr. Sitaramayya. A sulking Gandhiji



## RESEARCH

declared: "Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat." The developments that followed this election, and how the Communists stood by Subhas Chandra during this period are quite well-known. It was in this context it is quite understandable why Subhas Chandra sought the help from the Communists for his Moscow Mission and, the Communists gave all the support they could.

In spite of all the close and cooperative relationship of the past so many years, and of the information provided by Talwar on his return from Kabul, a *faux pas* appeared in the relation between the CPI and Subhas Chandra once the latter surfaced in Berlin, and began regular broadcasting in January 1942. The CPI took a diabolically anti-Subhas Chandra posture and the Party's official weekly organ began maligning him with venomous diatribes, week after week, and even called him a "Quisling".

The Party's first open weekly, *National Front*, which earlier announced proudly in its issue of October 16, 1938, that its following issue would carry a "special article" by President Subhas Bose and in its issue of October 23, 1938, carried it on the front page under the caption "Our Needs And Duties", as well as carried a special message from him with the headline "Carry Forward The Heritage Of Struggle" in its issue of February 12, 1939; but in 1942, the same Party organ, though with a changed masthead of *People's War*, began indulging in rabid slander against him. In its issue of September 13, 1942, *People's War* carried a cartoon on its front page showing Dr. Goebbels holding Subhas Chandra in a kitten form by the collar in front of a microphone, while Hitler and Goering were shown watching the performance with broad smiles on their faces. The cartoon has the legend below it: "Subhas Bose: I am bringing

freedom to India!"

On the same page there was a long article by S. G. Sardesai under the bold caption: "Patriots Beware! To Freedom or Japanese Slavery?"

Was this *Volte face* on the part of the CPI based on some firm facts, or just due to misunderstanding because of communication gap, or a result of Allied Powers' and other interested quarters' or elements' carrying on a false propaganda? The *volte face* is more puzzling in the context of the fact that Talwar, on his return from Kabul after Subhas Chandra's safe departure from the Afghan capital for Berlin via Soviet Union, reported to the Party in detail the incidents in Kabul, as claimed in his book. In his book, Talwar further told us that he received the message



in Kabul through Italian sources that Subhas Chandra "had reached an understanding in Berlin that under the present conditions they would render help to one another as equals and whatever help in any shape we get from them would be on reciprocal basis and whatever step we took would be entirely with a view to help achieve independence of our country".

It is high time that a proper review of the entire matter is undertaken with all seriousness and sincerity without any further delay.

It is worth noting that on November 12, 1980, at a meeting at the Ajoy Bhavan, New Delhi, the CPI Headquarters, the then CPI General Secretary C. Rajeswara Rao revealed that in 1941, P. C. Joshi and Dr. G. Adhikari, both were

members of the Party's Politburo, took the decision, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, to help Subhas Chandra to go out of India and Bhagat Ram Talwar was deputed for this purpose. This particular meeting at the Ajoy Bhavan was held to pay homage to the memory of the CPI's former General Secretary, the late P. C. Joshi, and the report of the meeting with Rao's revelation was published in the Party's Hindi daily *Janjug*, (now defunct) of November 13, 1980.

In his article, "Netaji and Indian Communists", the CPI (M) Politburo member and West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu admitted that "...we said certain exaggerated, unfair and wrong things about him", (p. 19 of the book *Netaji And Indian Independence*), a compilation by B. K. Ahluwalia and Shashi Ahluwalia). Basu further pointed out that as a result of "confusion among us", certain events happened (*ibid.*, p. 20). Despite these, "It is a curious thing that not even for one day did he (Subhas Chandra) say a word against us and our stand even though he could say much against us. On the contrary, he appealed to Swami Sahajanand by name...", Basu stated (*ibid.*, p. 20). The CPI(M) leader was all praise for Subhas Chandra and described him as "a national leader of the first rank." Basu also favoured historical research in regard to Subhas Chandra's contribution to the cause of India's national liberation.

Incidentally, some Soviet and American scholars have already undertaken separately such studies. In this regard, special mention should be made to the work done by the Soviet Indologist, Prof. A. Raikov, and the American scholar and professor of Indian History, Prof. Leonard A. Gordon. January 3, 1991.

Dwijendra Nandi



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No.F.4(3)5/90-P.A.  
Government of India,  
National Archives of India,  
Janpath,  
New Delhi-110001, the **28 JAN 1991**

28

To

The First Secretary,  
Indian Embassy in U.S.S.R.,  
Moscow,  
C/o Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No.MOS/Pol/125/1/90 dated 4-10-90 in connection with some secret documents relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the possession of Soviet Union, I am to request you to intimate us the latest position in regard to the completion of the translation of the material from Russian to English language which was received by you from the Soviet Ar Further information if any, received in this regard from the Soviet Authorities may also kindly be intimated, so as to enable us to inform Department of Culture accordingly.

Yours faithfully,

*Jayanti Dass*

for Director General of Archives  
Government of India.

*Irina has just completed  
(37 pages) the translation  
shall clean it up & send it  
to Delhi  
May place 15/2*

*MCP*

*Thurms  
Ry*

*15/2*

*File*

*M  
16/3*

*N40*





Ajay Bisaria,  
Second Secretary (Pol)

27

CAT 'B'  
156  
भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 297-0820

No. MOS/POL/125/1/90

May 8, 1991

The Director General of Archives,  
Government of India,  
NEW DELHI

Reference: Documents on Netaji Bose

.....

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter No.F.4(3)5/90-PA of 28 January, 1991 about documents relating to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the possession of the Soviet Union, we are enclosing the translated text of the article by T.F. Devetkin on the Socio-political contribution of S.C. Bose. As we had mentioned earlier, the article is a published one and throws no additional light on the fate of Netaji or his possible presence in the Soviet Union after his disappearance in 1945. We have not yet received any other material from the Soviets, and will let you know as and when we do.

Yours faithfully,

*ABisaria*

(Ajay Bisaria)

Copy to Shri Arvind Gupta, DS(SU), Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.

*g*

*AB*  
(Ajay Bisaria)  
Second Secretary (Pol)



One of the most controversial figures of the Indian national liberation movement is Subhash Chandra Bose. His activities, social, political and ideological views were differently evaluated by many historians in their works, & in memoirs of his contemporaries and comrades.

A well-known researcher of the history of the Indian National Congress and an outstanding figure of the anti-imperialist movement, B.P. Sitaramaya, who knew Subhash Chandra Bose well, paid attention to the complicated interpretation of Bose's views and nature of his very personality. "There are many attractive features in him - a stormy life from his childhood and a strange mixture of mysticism and realism, fiery passion sometimes turning into fanaticism and severe practical common sense, deep emotional sensitivity and cold prudent pragmatism." He also mentioned that S.C. Bose and M.K. Gandhi were two polar opposite figures. Gandhi was led by intuition while Bose by reason and the latter circumstance was noticed by many other researchers emphasizing contradictory approaches of both men to tasks of the liberation struggle.

The characteristics of Bose mentioned by Sitaramaya are close to being objective though he was an active supporter and ideological follower of M.K. Gandhi. The author gives an idea about the complicated and outstanding personality of Bose - a political figure who played an important role in the development of the anticolonial movement in India. His activities aroused acute disputes many years after his death. Bose's views differed greatly from Gandhi's. He was one of those few leaders of the national liberation movement who opposed Gandhi in a crucial period of the struggle and the importance of this contradiction was in the fact that the movement as a whole became more decisive, since inside the movement various opinions interacted and helped to direct it. In some cases Bose was a winner and away from the guidelines of the liberation movement. But it should be mentioned that in spite of his contradictions with M.K. Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose understood Gandhi's greatness and respected him.

In his views and in his deeds there was a lot of pure individualism, brightness but at the same time something that could be hardly understood:

"In particular, during the last period of his life which was connected with fascist Germany and militarist Japan. Many investigators omit this period of his life simply by writing a few negative phrases and describing mainly and in detail his participation in the liberation movement as well as his activities in the creation of the Indian national army in South-East Asia. But the attention towards him does not grow weak. Diverse legends about Bose's mysterious disappearance at the end of World War are published in India from time to time. Thus in the middle of the 70s, many Indian newspapers discussed the problem whether Bose was alive and if he was alive where was he? Special Commissions were created to find out the circumstances of his death. The newspaper "Indian Express", 24 January 1979 even published a vague photo of Bose taken allegedly a year before in a temple. On his 83rd birthday (1979) in West Bengal mass meetings were held at which many speeches were made on the great contribution of Netaji (leader) in the struggle for liberation of India from colonialism. And though his name was used in the struggle of different political forces in Bengal of those days, this very fact promoted the growing interest in Bose's personality and in the complicated and contradictory events that took place before India's freedom.

Talking of Bose's characteristics, the Indian historian P.D. Kaushik considered him a rationalist primarily (at the beginning, at the end of his activity and always). A political figure of independent India and a historian, Hiren Mukherji, evaluating Bose's utter devotion to the cause of the Indian peoples' struggle for liberation, condemned him for appealing to fascist Germany, and considered his theoretical reasonings in this respect,



not only incorrect but dangerous. Investigating Bose's contradictory views, he came to the conclusion that "it is difficult to place him unconditionally to the left or to the right."

The Soviet investigator O.V. Martyshin considered S.C. Bose a petty bourgeois radical. Simultaneously he emphasized that Bose was "convinced of the necessity to change the reform policy of the Congress and to draw the people (masses) in the movement." The author saw the negative sides of Bose's ideology and activity. He agreed with Mrs. Byavko Shor (GDR) who paid attention that Bose was inclined to authoritarianism. He was ambitious and the nationalistic features of his character prevailed over socialist features. He was not a democrat."

F.N. Nilov saw in him "a leader who was popular among the middle class of cities," particularly in Calcutta. His influence in circles of the intelligentsia can be judged for example from the reaction of R. Tagore on the resignation of Bose from the post of INC President. R. Tagore sent him a letter in which he expressed his sympathy: "Dignity and patience which you demonstrated in the current situation aroused my admiration and confidence in the correctness of your leadership. Bengal should also stand firm and with the same dignity in the name of self respect in order that your temporary defeat turns into permanent victory."

G.G. Kotovsky in his book, published in 1973, wrote: "S.C. Bose, losing his faith in a possibility to overthrow the British domination in India by internal forces of the Indian revolution and considering that the final military defeat of England is a matter of the near future counted on the fascist Germany and its allies. Bose believed rarely that the enemies of the British would bring freedom for India on their bayonets."

As the interest in Bose's personality and his role in the anti-imperialistic struggle did not bring down the number of new research works and documents and materials kept appearing. There is a necessity to consider this issue more thoroughly.

There are no special investigations in Soviet historiography dedicated to S.C. Bose. Though in some general works analysis of diverse problems of history and ideology of the liberation movement a certain attention was given to Bose's activities as he was one of the brightest leaders of the radical wing of the Indian National Congress but one who found himself out of the main streams of the liberation movement at the last stage of the struggle.

This article does not pretend to be a complex investigation of this complicated issue linked with political activities and ideological views of Bose. It is only an attempt to give a characteristic of some sides of his outlook which are the most important in understanding the process of the development of the anti-imperialistic movement in India.

The shaping of Bose's political views was made under the conditions of the development of the national-liberation struggle in India taking into account its complexity and specific character. A special situation began to develop in Bengal, Bose's homeland, at the beginning of the 20th Century. The process of national formation commenced there earlier than in other regions of India. The earlier development of capitalism in Bengal influenced the acceleration of the new bourgeois ideology and the development of the liberation movement. One of the peculiar features of Bengal was its economic concentration around Calcutta which is an economic centre, the focus of trade and industry, a transport junction and a marine port.

Ideological and political life of Bengal in those days was diverse and active. Prominent philosophers - reformers, ideologists of the national liberation movement, writers and artists permeated their activities with



anti-British, anti-colonial ideas. Young people of the middle class and representatives of the Indian spiritual elite organized underground revolutionary organizations but these organizations were very weakly linked with the masses, they studied how to sold and manufacture weapons, some of them carried out acts of terrorism against odious bureaucrats of the British colonial administration. It can also be recollected that the colonial powers in India prohibited the local population to use arms even as a means of defence against wild animals. Therefore the manufacturing of home-made bombs and other types of arms was a demonstration of resistance to the authorities. In their dreams many participants of secret groups saw an armed revolt of a handful of bold people who would be supported by the masses. Some organizations had already tried to establish connections with wider circles of people and they also carried out a propoganda in the army. At the same time they understood and felt the omnipotence of British people armed with up-to-date equipment, and many of them looked for support from outside, European rivals of England first of all. This circumstance is particularly important for understanding the process of Bose's ideology formation. A considerable number of Indian patriots were brought up over decades in the spirit of revolutionary rationalism. In the first 25 years of the XX Century the workers movement became very important, marxist circles appeared, the ideas of socialism were discussed. Subash Chandra Bose was one of the bright representatives of nationalists for whom the initial ideological material were the traditions of Indian ideologists such as Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghosh as well as Indian national revolutionaries with their extreme views about the political struggle, inconsistency, hot impatience and under-estimation of thorough work with the masses.

Subash Chandra Bose was born on 23 January 1897 in Cuttack the centre of Orissa, which was included in Bengal province in those days, in the family of a Bengali lawyer. When he was 15 years old, he was acquainted with Vivekananda's ideas. In 1913 Bose entered the Calcutta University and joined a students' circle where works of A. Ghosh and problems of the struggle against British domination were discussed passionately. It is known that during that period the idea of the armed revolt took an important place in the ideology of the latter. During the period of the rapid intensification of the antiimperialistic struggle in India in 1919, under the pressure of his relatives he left for England for draining and passing exams and getting an appointment in the Indian Civil Service. During that period Bose's outstanding personality shone brightly. He passed exams with flying colours and inspite of his relatives' wishes refused an appointment in the British administration. He decided to devote his life to the struggle for Indian freedom. His ideological sympathy had the tendency to radicalism that was typical for illegal groups in Bengal in those days with which he was connected and with extreme trends in the INC. In 1921 when Subhash returned to India, M.K. Gandhi became a leader of the liberation movement and his theory of non-violence was very popular. However, there were many opponents of Gandhi in the Congress in that time too and among them was C.R. Das whose ideological views could not be put into the frames of non-violence. Bose became a faithful follower of C.R. Das. He always considered him his guru but there were many specific features in the development of Bose's ideology, though there were also many revolutionary - democratic features in it like in C.R. Das ideology. The revolutionary democratic moods which overwhelmed minds of the gréat October Revolution influenced theoretical researchers of C.R. Das. He paid special attention to the struggle for the interests of the masses and called on workers, peasants and middle classes to join the national liberation movement. However Das's ideas were of purely abstract character. He did not propose a single development concrete social programme. He ideological sympathies were reduced to petty bourgeoisie democratism dependence private property and allowing a possibility of preventing class conflicts, such an approach to the decision of social problems in the process of national liberation revolutions is natural because, as Lenin emphasized, "any national movement can be only a bourgeoisie-democratic one as the major mass of population in underdeveloped countries consists of peasantry which is a representative of bourgeoisie-capitalist reactions."



A certain abstractism of Bose social ideas was typical in the 20's, nationalism of the oppressed nation was the guideline of his thoughts, dreams and actions. That was typical for the majority of radical figures of the INC. From the end of 20's and in 30's social problems became more and more important for them. Bose participated in the trade unions movement in those days' protecting the workers' demands in bilateral arguments, sometimes he managed to settle conflicts between workers and employers. Bose supported social ideas at the session of INC in Karachi in 1931, approved in the special resolution concerning insurance of workers' interests and reforming of the landownership system, lowering of agricultural rent.

In the declaration of rights also adopted at this session equality before law for all people independent of their caste faith and gender was declared. Even before that session the ideological differences between Bose and Gandhi sharpened considerably. Bose demanded decisive actions aimed at achievement of complete independence by all means including forcible conflicts. The idea of militarization of the liberation movement strengthened gradually, and he tried to implement it in life even in 1928 when together with Jawahar Lal Nehru they became "youth idols". The youth were ready to follow them and to do any thing. Bose was the chief of a volunteers' corps ensuring the holding of the INC session in Calcutta and demonstrated the bright abilities of an organizer. He arranged mass marches efficiently, grand meetings of delegates, and the meeting of the INC organised with J. Nehru was particularly great. Bose succeeded in ensuring a special form for volunteers and demanded their absolute submission.

At this session he supported decisively the inclusion into the programme of the Congress's activities demands for the struggle for achievement of full independence. But the rightist forces defended persistently asked for the formula of "dominion status". The tactic of compromise of M.K. Gandhi and his followers deepened ideological confrontation between Bose and Gandhi. In spite the fact that the former was very popular among young people, his influence among the masses and among Congressmen could not be compared with the authority and influence of Gandhi. Gandhi adopted a number of organizing measures as a result of which Bose was not included in the Working Committee of the Congress in 1930.

In January 1930 British Indian powers arrested Bose. After the release he was again arrested for participation in an anti-governmental demonstration. He was released, but again 1932 he was arrested. In prison he fell ill and on the request of his relatives and influential friends he succeeded in obtaining the permission to leave for Europe for treatment. Thus, he became an exile staying in Europe and acquaintance with social-political processes going on there influenced the unstable and petty bourgeois (to a certain extent) psychology of Bose. He saw primarily the external side of phenomena in particular the formation of the fascist regime in Germany and the militaristic marches of the Nazis.

He was won by the circumstance that Germany had no colonies in comparison to England which exploited hundreds of millions of people. The fascist aggressiveness, its desire towards world supremacy, the order which was the result of savage reprisal of all social-political forces which did not follow the ideology of Nazism, violent anticommunism - Bose did not see all these things or did not consider them important due to his specific ideology. It is possible that during this period his ideas about supremacy of a party dictatorship in comparison with the parliamentary democracy began to develop. During that time he wrote the book "Indian Struggle 1920-1934" published in London in 1935. In this book social problems were paid considerable attention. Analysing the ideology of the left wing of the Congress which he reckoned himself in, he wrote "The left forces adhered to the radical views on social-economic issues, i.e. on the issues concerning the attitude to powers, contradictions between landowners and peasants as well as between labour and capital."



He reverted to these issues several times during the next few years when he returned to India. Bose called his ideology socialistic, Western friends of socialism influenced the interpretation of this concept to a certain extent. The social views of Bose were expressed in full in his speech at the Congress of the INC in Haripuri in 1938 when he was elected the party chairman after several years in exile.

At the end of the 30's an intense struggle was going on in the INC; on the attitude to the growing workers and peasants movements, on the tasks and characteristic of activities of the Congress Governments in provinces, where they had won power as a result of the 1937 election, etc. The formation of Congress Ministers neither brought the golden era the voters waited for, nor did it bring popularity to governments themselves as they could not fulfil their pre-election promises, "Zamindars kept all their properties, the police continued to repress, the position of political prisoners remained hard. Release of freedom fighters from prisons was impossible, the Governor put a veto on provinces, governments, requirements". Peasants revolts grew wider. Long marches of peasant organizations were held in villages. They demanded the agrarian reform promised by the Congress. "Kisan Sabha" activities during that period in some places acquired an anti-congress character, peasants marches were held under red communist flags. The tri-colour Congress flag was rejected by them. There were conflicts between Congressmen and peasants organisations. Even numerous appeals of such a popular leader as J Nehru did not solve disagreements. According to the opinion of supporters of non-violence the current situation "symbolized confrontation of socialism and Gandism." Socialism with which a considerable majority of Congressmen of the left wing sympathised that time, was interpreted quite strangely and as a refined bourgeois interpretation of the concept "equality" as something contrary to imperialism and primarily its British variant. But Congressmen were afraid that workers and peasants actions were not socialist but communist as they were connected with the problems of property. Therefore the issue about a candidate to the post of President of the Congress for the next term raised serious debates, majority of provincial committees of the Congress supported representative of the radical wing with a halo of a sufferer - Subash Chandra Bose - who had long-term connections with leaders of the peasant movements and with the trade unions leadership. The proposal was approved by Gandhi. Bose was a talented organizer and within a short period of time attracted large number of manufacturers and princes and arranged rich ceremonies at the session's opening (underlying the Chairman's personality) and entrusting him unlimited powers. In his speech he confirmed the main programme provisions of INC which existed at that time, including Gandhi's principle of non-violence as one of the means for the achievement of freedom. Nevertheless his speech was full of diverse ideas which were far beyond Gandhi's framework. He spoke about ascending and descending of world empires, about the inevitability of this process which went on not without violence. In particular he mentioned that <sup>1</sup>the Tsarist empire in Russia was destroyed in 1917 and on its ruins the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics appeared; and it was high time the British empire also crashed. But such a transformation, he noted - is possible only under the condition if the British people become free in their own house and if Great Britain becomes a socialist state.<sup>2</sup> The last thesis was written, and, it is evident, under the influence of M.N. Roy's views who defended the idea that a revolution in England was necessary to free India.

But Bose did not consider this way to be the only one. The passive waiting for the crash of the British empire did not correspond with his impatient political strivings. He called for immediate actions on the basis of the wide antiimperialist front created for the gaining of political freedom and establishment of the socialist regime (he used these very terms). On the contrary, Gandhi proposed persistently the idea was based on the fact that India was in the underdeveloped phase. He spoke of industrialisation would come to India, it was impossible to avoid it. 'The industrial revolution - he said - still be comparatively and lower than in England but it is possible



that it will be expedited like in Soviet Russia.<sup>2</sup> In August 1938, speaking at the meeting of the Indian scientists association, Bose submitted the entire programme of national planning of industrial development that would become the foundation of the progressive structure of India after winning freedom. "Though, said Bose, the development of industry is the integral process throughout the world, nevertheless we should aim at national autonomy, especially in the sphere of our main needs and requirements. We should pursue the policy of furthering the development of the national industry, "i.e. the development of power engineering, metalurgy, machine-building and tools manufacturing, chemicals, transport and communications development, etc."

He paid much attention to the problem of technical specialists, training and technical education and according to him it was necessary to use diversive farms in the field and send students abroad for studying scientific discoveries. He also suggested the establishment of the Council of National Research.

He considered planning a wide programme of activity based on serious studying of the modern world industrial development as well as the level of development achieved by India by that time. It is remarkable that considering the issue of the planning and industrialization of India, Bose put a side agriculture, a branch of industry, where the majority of the Indian people were busy. He proceeded from the fact that the industrialization itself would change the character of agriculture correspondingly. (Problems of changes in character of the property as a means of production were not raised by him). Bose connected the development of industry with the necessity of improving the standard of life. Private property remained a state ingredient of the future industrial development of Indian society.

/bourgeoisie

The Indian national press, financed by the Indian Congress, supported plans of industrialization of India. Objectively Bose expressed the interests of the growing Indian bourgeoisie though the social views of Bose as a whole were of a petty-bourgeois character. Bose's ideology reflected mainly expectations of the petty bourgeoisie in a town and a part of the middle class suffered not only from the pressure of the colonialists, but from the upper classes of the Indian society. The growing circles of the Indian intelligentsia bore painfully the social humility (horizontal and vertical). The striving to change the social status was evident in various forms of protest (participation in peaceful demonstrations, extreme radical demonstrations and terrorist acts.)

The petty bourgeoisie - Lenin wrote "is incapable of any independent position in key of any battles." It cherished various plans one better than the other, but was hesitating permanently, was interested in utopian ideas and diversive socialist doctrines. V.I. Lenin called attention several times to the fact, that "socialist dreams turned into the socialist struggle of millions of people only in case the scientific socialism of Marx linked reformists class. Outside of the class struggle socialism is an empty phrase or a naive dream." Ideas of socialism expressed by Bose did not turn into a concrete and clear programme. They were a utopian dream and a peculiar support for hopes to get independence from the capitalist England and to a certain extent, a tribute to progressive ideas.

"Socialism became a modern philosophy of like" - said Bose in one of his speeches in 1938. "The industrial century, the result of which is capitalism, is over. I see blessing for mankind in socialism. When I pronounce blessing, I mean a principle the implementation of which in India will depend on history, peoples' psychology and other factors. However, in free India the reconstruction should pursue the socialist line. In ideological discussions with Gandhi he referred sometimes to the Soviet Union's experience. The economic conditions of Russia which was an underdeveloped



country, were changed completely in 15 years.

Bose thought that India could achieve the same result even quicker and that there was no need to spend time in the reestablishment of hand-spinning and hand-weaving as Gandhi insisted. The essence of reforms in the Soviet Union he saw only in the fast industrialization and planning of economy. But Bose did not see and did not want to see that it was possible to do only on the basis of expropriation of private property in means of production and other socio-economic measures. Gandhi thought that the specific conditions of India which existed by that time, not allowed the implementation of other economic programme (besides reestablishment of the hand-spinning and hand-weaving) which would ensure swaraj for millions of hungry people and beggars as well as for millions of illiterate women. Bose admitted somewhat the importance of the handloom industry, but he emphasized the necessity of the fast industrialization of the country and state planning. Essentially all Bose's discourses about socialism came down to the bourgeois principles of society's development as industrialization and planning acting in the form of the state sector in the mixed economy could be successfully implemented in the capitalist system. Throwing aside the scientific interpretation of socialism as a whole, Bose accepted only separate sides of it which corresponded to his eclectic ideology. These circumstances explained in considerable degree his theoretical manipulations regarding the fusion of socialism and national socialism, the searching of ways to synthesize these two absolutely contradictory social-political systems. The idea of synthesis was transformed by him. Primarily it was formulated in the book "Indian Struggle 1920-1934." A little bit later when Nazi Germany unleashed World War II Bose had changed his attitude towards fascism. In one of his speeches he said justifying himself: "I should draw attention to the fact that fascism had not commenced its imperialist aggressions, when I wrote the book, and I imagined it as a simple aggressive form of nationalism. I noted also that communism seemed to me as antinational and this impression was strengthened by the inimical attitude of communist advocates to the INC. However, it is evident that the situation has changed now. I understand now and welcome communism, stated in Marx and Lenin's works, as well as in official statements of 'Comintern' supporting the struggle for national independence."

At the same time in his speeches and articles of late '30s, elements of socialism and Nazism were compared in one or the other way. In discussions about advantages of the one-party system he referred to the example of Soviet Russia, the Nazi party in Germany, the fascist party in Italy and the Kemalist party in Turkey."

Bose's attitude to Nazism reflects a complicated and contradictory process in the ideological development of his views and leaves many researchers nonplussed. How can it be that a man who devoted his life to the national liberation of his people, fought against imperialism, stood in the ranks of the radical Congress leaders, worked in cooperation with Nehru and other politicians, who opposed Nazism from the very beginning, could not understand the aggressive, inhuman essence of fascism, its striving for the domination of other nations? How could he apply to fascist Germany for assistance after his political failures in India?

In trying to explain this not only by Bose's pure personal qualities, his inclination towards adventurism, but also his ambitions, unusual organizing abilities etc. it is necessary to describe the situation existing in India by the end of '30's and beginning of '40's.

At the very beginning of 1939 in the ruling circles of the INC, the issue regarding elections of a new Chairman was being settled. Subhash Chand Bose was nominated for election to this post by his closest comrades for the second term. However



time this proposal was not supported by the majority of Congressmen, including M.K. Gandhi. They felt that Bose called for resolute struggle and ultimatums to England were not timely. After long discussions the second candidate - P. Sitaramaiah was nominated. As a result however Bose got the majority of votes and remained the INC Chairman for the second term.

J. Nehru returned from Europe by this time. He was a member of the INC Working Committee and did not support Bose's impatient tactics. Fearing the Congress splitting at an important moment he doubted that the election of Bose was expedient. Bose's situation became more serious because 12 out of 15 members of the INC Working Committee declared that they would have the Committee in connection with their disagreement with the Chairman's position. J. Nehru submitted the application, stating that between him and the "group of 12" (members of which were S. Patel, R. Prasad and others) there were serious contradictions. The Congress Chairman fell ill. He took some measures to reestablish status-quo having refused to accept the resignation of members of the Working Committee and through members of the Organizing Committee made preparations for the INC Congress. In spite of all difficulties necessary measures were taken and the Congress in Tripur was open in March 1939. As already mentioned, Bose had an inclination for rich ceremonies and military parades during the Congress events. During the ceremonial procession in honour of the Congress Chairman elephants from the nearest provinces were brought to Tripur. The number of elephants coincided with the number of years of the Congress. A separate camp for the Chairman was assembled. In the premises where delegates stayed hot debates were held. The Working Group members who were going to resign, refused to participate in debates but arrangements of the other Working Committee failed.

Under such circumstances Bose delivered a brief speech and informed of the programme of actions which was not supported by the majority of delegates. The resolution proposed by his opponents was approved and Bose had to resign. Soon after that Bose took some action that violated the INC resolutions and disciplinary measures were taken against him. He was forbidden from occupying leading posts in the Congress for three years and that meant his expulsion from the INC. After that, he immediately declared the organization of an other party. "Forward Block" which according to the expression of J. Nehru had to oppose itself to the Congress. Nehru wrote: "The Block has disintegrated as it was expected, however, it strengthened splitting trends and resulted in the deterioration of the general situation. Adventurous and opportunist elements commenced forwarding their platforms, and involuntarily it reminded me of those methods with the help of which the Nazi party came to power in Germany. In the beginning they won mass support for their programme, then they used their support for the achievement of other aims."

"Forward bloc" an All India Party existed not for long and its core survived only in Bengal. Actually it turned into a provincial party. At the beginning of the 2nd World War, the situation in the nationalist circles of India became more acute. A complicated issue concerning the attitude towards the war and to England arose. Hesitations and doubts tortured outstanding leaders of the INC. Even J. Nehru hesitated. Only Gandhi on the basis of this theory of non-violence said that Congress men should not create difficulties for the enemy at this hard hour. But circumstances demanded the resolute measures. The majority of the active participants of the anticolonial movement, using news of Western English language press, could not come to a decision concerning the evaluation of political processes



occurring in the world. "During the war, - Nehru wrote, - new problems arose & old problems were transformed. It seemed that the previous arrangement of forces had changed and old criteria have vanished. A lot of unexpected events have happened and it has been difficult to adjust oneself to them." Nehru mentioned "Russian-German pact, friendly gestures of Russia towards Japan," defeat of Norway, Holland, Belgium, Paris fall: All these events could not be assimilated into the views and stereotypes of thinking of Congressmen. During that time the peasant and trade union movements grew wider in India, Ministers- Congressmen resigned from provincial governments, the Constitution's writ was temporarily curbed and mass repressions commenced. Bose was arrested in June 1940. In prisons he declared a hunger strike and because of his illness he was discharged under police surveillance. After staying at home for some time Bose decided to search for support of his variant of the liberation of India in other countries including England's enemies. It was an old idea which possessed the minds of Indian revolutionaries even during the 1st World War, and which became terrible under the changed conditions, but Bose could not understand it. He decided to escape from India with the help of his friends. It is possible that Bose received financial support from relations and rich friends. He was going to leave for the Soviet Union as an anti-imperialist country which always supported anticolonial movements - as Talwar certified, before departure Bose spoke to R. Tagore, Jay Prakash Narayan, L. Shankar Lal and others and received their approval.

The process of preparation and organization of the escape via border provinces and Kabul (where he tried to contact the USSR Embassy and obtain an entry USSR visa), was unsuccessful. Then Bose decided to apply to the diplomatic mission of Germany which was at war with England, as during that time the own aggression pact was in force between the USSR and Germany. Via diplomatic channels he tried to obtain transit visas for USSR, Berlin and Rome. As such the visas were not issued. Bose decided to cross the border himself. Italian representatives in Kabul rendered to him all possible assistance, but warned him that it was risky business. It was however dangerous to stay in Kabul. Every day he risked being arrested. Former members of various groups of Indians hid Bose, among them were the former 'Gadroves' participants of the Peshawar revolt of 1930. At the last moment the transit visa was obtained in the name of Orlando Mazotti and he succeeded in reaching Berlin. Fascist leaders greeted Bose's arrival in Germany.

Arriving in Berlin, Bose obtained permission for a special uncensored radio broadcast for India ("Azad Hind Radio"). In his speeches he appealed to his people calling on the anti-British struggle with the help of England's enemies. These appeals reached a part of Indian and even found certain understanding since in public opinion of India, there were different trends and among them there was a pro-Japan trend. In one of his speeches Bose stated that he left India in order to establish direct contacts with enemies of British imperialism and therefore he connected the Indian struggle for freedom with the struggle of the axis powers against the old enemy - England. Though Bose was not a politician, nevertheless he understood quite clearly contradictions between Germany and Japan regarding India out of which he could get benefits for India. Besides Bose believed in the lasting pact between the USSR and Germany. He stated to representatives of Nazi powers on his arrival in Berlin that "for liquidation of the British influence in Eastern colonial countries it is necessary to support the status quo between Germany and the Soviet Union" believing naively that his statement was of any importance for Nazi powers. But very soon he understood that he had made a mistake, that his hopes were in vain. Fascist Germany violating all norms of the International Law, violated the agreement with the USSR and invaded the USSR.

That fact influenced Bose's plans and he began to understand the true face of fascism. Arranging military units of captive Indians and emigrants he envisaged using them against British troops



and objected to Nazi attempts to send them to the Eastern front. He stated that Indian legion soldiers would "fight only against England, but never against the Soviet Union." Gautam Chattopadhyay referring to German archives' data, wrote that 10 Indian legion soldiers, obeying the order of their commander, refused to go to the Eastern front and they were brought to the military tribunal. Events of 1942-43 at the fronts of the 2nd World War demonstrated that Nazism was not so strong as Bose supposed. The Stalingrad battle shook considerably the prestige of the German army. The situation of Indian sub-units acting in Algeria became complicated. None of German's allies wanted to finance Indian sub-units. But soon Bose's fate changed considerably. Events in South-Eastern Asia translated dreams into reality and create an Indian Army, and he began to think in terms of Japanese help.

Ideas of armed throwing off of colonial powers were a main a leading part of Bose's political views. But it was difficult to implement these ideas in India. M.K. Gandhi played a great role in the national liberation movement and especially his theory of non-violence and his ability to penetrate into peoples' souls, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "India, even town India, even new industrial India has a peasant imprint and it will be quite natural for it to make its son who is so alike his country and at the same time so unlike, an idol and an adored leader." Gandhi was supported by masses of people and leading social forces. But after sometime his positions grew weaker and a great number of participants of the national liberation movement considered the non-violent theory to be hopeless under those conditions. At the end of 1942 the theatre of war moved towards the Indian frontiers. The Japanese army attacked successfully the armies of the allies in the region of the Pacific Ocean. The British colonial empire started to disintegrate. The feat of British powers in Burma and Malaysia made a great impression in India. The question about military defence of the country was on the agenda. Revolutionary events in India began to develop. The British administration did not seem invincible any more. After long hesitation the INC leadership headed the movement "Out of India" supported by Gandhi too. Bose was sure that internal blows supported by military actions from outside could crush the British aliens in India.

At that time in South-East Asia the Indian national army was formed. Its commanders invited Bose to come and head this Army. A prominent Indian figure Rash Behari Bose who lived in Singapore played an active role in this.

In February 1943 Subash Chander Bose sailed there aboard a German military ship. In the South of Africa he changed for a Japanese submarine which delivered him to Sumatra and from there he flew to Tokyo (13 June 1943). The idea of creation of the Indian national army in South East Asia occurred in December 1941 when a small group of officers of the British-Indian Army captured by the Japanese, took the decision to unite with a group of Indian politicians" who lived in Sumatra to combat against the British. A captain of one of former Punjab regiments, Mohan Singh, began talks with the Japanese headquarters who supported this idea.

In June 1942 at the conference in Bangkok the council of actions was arranged and Rash Behari Bose was appointed its Chairman. At that conference it was officially stated that the Indian national army would be formed and it would be under the command of Indians. And that immediately after India's liberation the Japanese Government would recognise the territorial integrity and full sovereignty of India free from any foreign influence,



control as well as political, economic or military interference. To hope that such a promise would be fulfilled was pure utopia, and this was immediately obvious since Japanese headquarters did not give any official promises regarding the status of the Indian national army and future relations with India. But it could not manage with a great number of war-captives and wished to use them in its own interests in war against the British forces and agreed to create INA which began to be formed after the Rangoon and Singapore defeats when the British Headquarters left in panic about 20 thousand Indian soldiers and officers to the mercy of fate. During that period, in South-East Asia there were about 2 million Indians ready to join the "total war" against the British colonialists. In October 1943 it was stated in Singapore that there would be the establishment of a so-called provisional government of free India headed by Subash Chand Bose which should be located at the Andaman Islands seized by the Japanese. This "government" declared its intentions about joining the war against England and the USA.

Bose arrived in Rangoon at the beginning of 1944 and the INA together with Japanese troops began to move closer to the Indian frontiers. On 18 March 1944 the Indian National Army crossed Burma's boarder and entered the Indian territory. Bose insisted that the INA should fight against troops of colonialists on its own land. But the Japanese headquarters did not agree with it. As the result of the agreement both armies acted under the general Japanese command, but the Indian troops were to have an independent sector of actions and to exercise control over free Indian territory.

However, Indian troops acted only as infantry units. They did not have an airforce or artillery, and as for the Japanese, they did not help them. In spite of these terrible conditions, Indian units fought bravely. During the battle for Kohima and Imphal many Indians were killed. Details of this battle were not widely known, but Bose probably understood that it was senseless to rely on the Japanese. Just then, Bose realized that liberation of the motherland could be achieved only by struggle inside the country, but not by military operations from outside. The idea "England's enemies are our friends" failed completely. In one of his radio speeches made in summer 1944 he stated "Let us assume that the British will adopt the resolution "Quit India" and will start to act immediately and guarantee that not a single Japanese soldier will step on the Indian ground."

During that time he appealed by radio to Gandhi personally as the "father of the nation" and greeted the struggle within the framework of the movement "Quit India". He cannot but be happy if our compatriates get freedom for our motherland by their own force." Exhausted by illness & with heavy losses INA retreated to Rangoon. On 23 April 1945 Bose received an official order to leave Rangoon from the Japanese headquarters. On 16 August, Bose flew from Singapore to Saigon. The next day the Japanese authorities offered him a seat in the plane. He insisted that one of his comrades would fly together with him. He did not know the destination but somebody hinted that it was possible he would leave for Manchuria. Bose was accompanied by Habibur Rahman, Deputy Commander of the INA Headquarters. On August 17, 1945 the plane took off. Bose sent his farewell to his friends: 'Jaya Hind (Long Live India!) I will return to you.' On August 22, 1945 Radio Tokyo said that Subhash Chandra Bose was killed in a plane crash in Taiwan. The plane was scheduled for Japan. Later on, some evidence appeared that Bose and



H. Rahman were seriously wounded and transported to a Japanese hospital and that the last words of Bose were: "Habib my end comes, I am dying for the freedom of my country. Go and tell my compatriots that they must continue to fight. India will be free and soon....." This evidence aroused suspicion but nobody could confirm or deny it. Even an urn with ashes brought by Habibur Rahman to one of the Japanese temples was not accepted by many people as the evidence of his death. Later on, his relatives officially confirmed his death. However it did not remove the cover of mystery connected with the name of a great fighter for the liberation of India.

Bose's socio-political views contained diverse concepts. In some aspects he was close to Marxism, sometimes he expressed openly Indian national bourgeois strivings but most of them (views) reflected hesitations of the petty bourgeoisie. Basing himself on the progressive theory of nationalism of the oppressed nation Bose accepted only one side of it - nationalism as an end in itself. He thought that to achieve this aim any means were allowed. The idea of independence was narrowed objectively.

Such positions took him away from the way along which the national liberation movement of India went. . . Some participants of this movement considered it possible to use in their struggle the enemies of England hoping for its weakness in case of its defeat in war and thus to make closer the liberation of India. Some of them even thought it possible to cooperate with Germany and Japan, fighting with England. Referring to the period of actions of the Japanese militarists in South-East Asia, Nehru wrote: "Pro-Japanese sentiments did not exist practically because nobody wanted to change owners, pro-Chinese sentiments were strong and widely spread. However, there was a small group the position of which was pro-Japanese indirectly. It meant that they considered using the Japanese invasion in the interest of the liberation of India. They were impressed by Subash Chandra Bose's hesitations & understanding of their helplessness were widely spread among the leading circles of the INC and the movement growing from below demanded actions, and Gandhi, understanding it, published a number of articles in which "there was a hint at the necessity of actions. The movement "Quit India" contained new forms of struggle. As the result of circumstances existing in South-East Asia, where the INA was acting under the command of Bose and events developing in India those days, the illusion of the doctrine "England enemies - our friends" became evident, and further activity of Bose and his supporters faced obstacles to overcome which was possible only by one way - to return to the motherland and to participate in the common struggle for its liberation. But that struggle was headed by other internal (home) political forces. However, that way was almost impossible. The colonial authorities desired to find a chance to deal with traitors.

Bose, preventing firmness and self-control, tried to find a way out for himself but his attempts failed.

V.I. Lenin, considering the problem of a personality in history, wrote: "The idea of historical necessity did not undermine, at all the role of a personality in history: History is composed as a whole by actions of personalities who are creators undoubtedly. A real question, arising upon evaluation of the public activity of a personality is as follows: under which conditions this activity will be successful? What is the guarantee that this activity will be not a single act, diving in a sea of counter-actions?"



Subash Chandra Bose was a political figure and a considerably great one who played an important role in the development of the anti-imperialist movement of India. His wide socio-political views including the struggle for social reconstruction in various spheres of social-economic life of India, were of functional character and were determined by nationalism and it put him in a difficult situation. He did not always take into account real political situations during this or that period, laid down left radical demands contrary to 'constitutional' and 'reforming ones.'

At the same time he did not formulate his positive programme. His main strength was in his criticism of separate ideological directions of the INC and tactics of its leadership. Sometimes, this criticism was based on the progressive positions and promoted the strengthening of positive potential of the whole movement. In particular, he supported the idea of drawing workers and peasants as well as their organizations into the active anti-imperialist struggle, advocating the idea of the united front in the middle of 1939s. He condemned aggression and thought that after gaining independence, India would support combatting any aggression in the international arena. His attitude to communism was very negative and his approaches towards the settlement of the community - religious problems, while based on secular positions and coincided with approaches of other congressmen. His hatred of everything of British origin led him to the negation of the parliamentary system and he imagined the future state structure of independent India as a party dictatorship, which should ensure India's fast economic development. Absence of a complete ideological concept of the strategy of the national - liberation movement resulted in the search for ideological stereotypes in the movement of Shinfeinors, kemalism, national socialism and looking into Bolshevism as well as in attempts to find a synthesized construction made of contradictory ideological trends.

Eclecticism was typical of many Indian trends, appeared in the process of national liberation movements in India. But they accumulated in themselves more or less homogeneous currents of unequal systems. Bose tried (especially during the last period of his activity) to continue contradictory elements and that was the reason why he could not arrive at a complete system.

This circumstance attached him to Congress inspite of deep contradictions with its leadership. By intuition he felt that the national Congress was the only real force capable of making India free from the colonial yoke. That was why after his leaving the Congress and creation of his own party "Forward Block" Bose stated: "I will be faithful and even more devoted than previously to the Congress and the country as a servant of the nation."

Bose's tragedy lay in the fact that he devoted all his life to the struggle of the Indian people, but could not understand the complicated socio-political, spiritual and psychological processes, which determine the main flow of the national-liberation movement and found himself off the road to independence.



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From: Indembassy Moscow

To: SH ASHOK KOSHY, JOINT SECRETARY, CULTURE

JS (CULTURE) FROM NARAYAN

REFYRTLX OF 8 MARCH REGARDING PARLIAMENTARY  
ASSURANCE USQ NO. 4092 ON NETAJI SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE.  
WE HAD SENT ALL THE MATERIAL WHICH WE HAD RECEIVED FROM  
THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN ORIGINAL ALONG WITH TRANSLATIONS  
OF ALL MATERIAL EXCEPT ONE LENGTHY ARTICLE BY MR T F DIVYATKIN  
ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION OF BOSE TO ARVIND  
GUPTA, DS(SU) MINISTRY OF EXT AFFAIRS VIDE MY LETTER  
MOS/POL/125/1/90 OF 21 DECEMBER 1990. THE MATERIAL WHICH  
WE HAVE RECEIVED DOES NOT SHED ANY LIGHT ON NETAJI'S  
FATE OR HIS SOJOURN IN THE USSR. VIDE BAG LEAVING TODAY  
I AM SENDING YOU A COPY OF MY LETTER REFERRED TO ABOVE  
ALONG WITH ALL SUPPORTING MATERIAL.

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NTT-

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March 12, 1991

*R L Narayan*  
(R L narayan)  
Minister (Political)

*o/c*



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3161221 hrd in

new delhi 8.3.1991

shri r.l.narayan, minister political, embassy of india, moscow

from: ashok koshy, joint secretary, culture

the final reply to a pending parliamentary assurance usq no.4092 regarding the secret papers in the possession of the soviet govt on netaji subhas chandra bose remains unfulfilled for want of information from the embassy. would be extremely grateful for a brief resume of material collected by you to enable us to fulfill this assurance. please tlx details.

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भारत का दूतावास, मास्को

EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha

MOSCOW

Tel. No. 297-0820

146

24

September 16 1991

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The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and has the honour to enclose herewith a collection of documents on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, at one time a President of the Indian National Congress and a leading figure in the Indian freedom movement, received from Mr. Chitta Basu, Member of Parliament and General Secretary, All India Forward Bloc, a group founded by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and at present a constituent of the Left Front Government in the Indian state of West Bengal.

2. In these documents there are suggestions quoting the then Soviet Ambassador in Kabul and the Soviet Vice Consul in Teheran to the effect that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose might have found his way to the Soviet Union after the alleged aeroplane crash in August 1945. As recently as March 5 1990, The Hindustan Times, an Indian daily newspaper, quoted a scholar of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies to the effect that there are two Soviet scholars who have applied to the Governemnt of the USSR for permission to examine classified documents.

3. In the light of the current policy on Soviet national archives the Embassy of India would appreciate if any material that sheds light on the fate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the archives of Soviet organisations, including security organisations, is made available to the Embassy of India.

4. The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR the assurances of its highest consideration.

Seal

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Government of USSR,  
Moscow.

Encl. as above.





भारत का दूतावास, मास्को

EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha

MOSCOW

Tel. No. 297-0820

145

22

No. SA/ 53/90

May 21, 1990

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of USSR and has the honour to forward copy of a news report published in the Hindustan Times of 5 March 1990 to the effect that the Soviet Government possesses certain documents which may shed new light on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

The Embassy also has the honour to state that this issue was raised in the Indian Parliament with an Honourable Member of Parliament wishing to ascertain the details in this regard and the reaction of the Government of India.

The Embassy would be grateful if the possibility of the relevant material relating to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose being transferred to the National Archives of India could kindly be explored by the Government of USSR. It may be mentioned that the National Archives of India already have a sizeable amount of material relating to the Indian leader and its enrichment with the material in the Soviet Archives would be of great value and interest to scholars working in the field.

Alternatively, the possibility of providing Xerox copies of the relevant material to the National Archives of India may kindly be considered.

The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the assurances of its highest consideration.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Government of USSR  
Moscow  
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R L Narayan  
Counsellor(Political)

21  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW

Telephone No. 297-08-20  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

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No. Mos/Pol/125/1/90

May 21, 1990

Dear Shri Lal,

Please refer to your letter No. F.4(3)/5/90-P.A. dated 11 May 1990 regarding documents relating to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union. On receipt of your letter, we have addressed the enclosed Note Verbale to the Soviet Foreign Office asking them to provide us either the originals or Xerox copies of the material on Netaji available with the USSR. We would be following up on this issue and will revert to you as early as possible.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely

RLN

(R L Narayan)

Shri Krishan Lal  
Deputy Director of Archives  
National Archives of India  
Janpath, New Delhi

Encl:



20  
No.F.4(3)5/90-P.A.  
Government of India,  
National Archives of India,  
Janpath, New Delhi, the

11 MAY 1990

To

The First Secretary,  
Indian Embassy in U.S.S.R.,  
Moscow,  
C/O Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Subject:-Documents related to Subhash Chandra Bose  
in Soviet Union.

Sir,

This is in continuation of this Department letter of  
even number dated 6.4.1990(copy enclosed for ready reference)  
regarding acquisition of secret documents related to Subhas  
Chandra Bose presently under the Soviet possession.

In this connection, please find enclosed a copy of the  
reply given to Lok Sabha unstarred question No.4092 on 9th  
April 1990. Your attention is especially invited to the  
answers given against parts(b) & (c) of the Question.  
Considering the assurance given on the subject, we shall be  
grateful if you could please take up the matter with concerned  
Soviet authorities & let us have the information on the  
subject urgently.

Yours faithfully,

Krishan Lal

Deputy Director of Archives,  
Government of India.

PS



For kind personal

Mr. S. J. H.  
1875

DCM

Dr. G. H. H. 1875

CHP



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No.F. 4(3)5/90 P.A.  
Government of India,  
National Archives of India,  
Janpath, New Delhi-1, the 6.4.90

Sir,

Enclosed please find a photocopy of the press-clipping entitled "secret papers" on Netaji in U.S.S.R. appearing in the Hindustan Times dated 5th March, 1990. It is requested that the matter may please be duly investigated and the National Archives of India be kindly favoured with more details regarding the availability of these papers.

Our interest in these papers emanates because of the fact that in view of the growing demand from the scholars to supplement the information available in the records, this Department has been endeavouring to collect the private papers of Indian elite and Administrators who have played an important role in our national history. Under this programme, the Department has already acquired around such 90 major Collections, besides some 5763 microfilm rolls containing information obtained from the repositories abroad. Working on this project, the Department has a sizable material relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose also, and it should be really of great use and interest to the scholars if this material could be further enriched.

It is therefore, requested that the possibility of the aforesaid relevant material relating to Netaji being transferred to the National Archives of India could kindly be explored. Alternatively, you may please consider the possibility of getting xerox copies of the materials made from the concerned U.S.S.R. authorities & despatched to us for the use of scholars.

An early reply in the matter will be very much appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

*W. P.*  
Dy. Director of Archives,  
Government of India.

The First Secretary,  
Indian Embassy in U.S.S.R  
Moscow  
C/O Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.



## 'Secret papers' on Netaji in USSR

CALCUTTA, March 4 (HTC) Institute of Ethnography, USSR

The Soviet Government possesses certain secret documents which may shed new light on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Dr E. S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, told HT here today that two Soviet scholars, who had been working on the Indian leader, had applied to the Government for permission to examine the documents. The documents were categorised as "top secret" and had never been made accessible. The scholars were however hopeful of the USSR National Archives agreeing to make available the documents in the context of the glasnost prevailing in the country.

The Soviet scholar said a seminar would be held in Moscow in September 1991 on Dr B. R. Ambedkar to mark his centenary. The seminar would be devoted to two main parts, Dr Ambedkar and the Indian national liberation movement, and Dr Ambedkar and the Scheduled Castes in post-Independence India.

"The advent of the Bahujan Samaj Party, with its leader Kanshi Ram breathing hatred, is a disturbing development for Indian democracy," she said. "It is surprising that the Left Government, now 65 years old in India, has failed to assimilate the Scheduled Castes. The Movement has in fact ignored the problems of the Scheduled Castes and this failure is now being exploited by leaders like Mr Ram."

Dr I. M. Semashko of the Soviet

Academy of Sciences, Moscow, said cultural and physical anthropologists of the Institute had not come across any evidence of foreign involvement in the recent developments in the Asian ethnic republics of the USSR.

During their field studies the scholars however could feel rising discontentment among the ethnic population against the economic injustices being meted out to them. The consensus of the scholars was that the events which had been rocking the republics had emanated from the economic crisis in the USSR. The development of the Asian republics within the Soviet system had raised ethnic aspirations and as the Soviet economy began its downward slide during the last two decades, the people's aspirations increased bringing about an open and often violent expression of dissatisfaction. The high unemployment rate also served to heighten the crisis. Nationalists who were ignored during the period of social and economic reconstruction found at last a niche for themselves and further ignited the violence.

It was also widely felt that once the economic problems were tackled and the political reform programme undertaken under perestroika was completed, "all the ethnic problems would be solved."

She said that among the myriad changes occurring in the USSR, the Soviet Government's attitude to ethnography had also changed.



LOK SABHA

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 4092

TO BE ANSWERED ON 9TH APRIL, 1990  
CHAITRA 19, 1912 (SAKA)

DOCUMENTS RELATED TO SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE IN SOVIET UNION

4092.

SHRI PARASRAM BHARDWAJ:

Will the PRIME MINISTER be pleased to state:

प्रधान मंत्री

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a report published in the Hindustan Times dated 5 March, 1990 that the Soviet Government possesses certain secret documents which may shed new light on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose;
- (b) if so, the details in this regard; and
- (c) the reaction of Government of India in this regard?

A N S W E R

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTER OF STATE IN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

( PROF.M.G.K. MENON )

माननीय ज्ञान विभाग मंत्रालय के शिक्षा विभाग में राज्य मंत्री के आतिथ्य कार्यक्रमों सहित विज्ञान और प्रौद्योगिकी मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री प्रो. मणिकुमार मेनन

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) No details are presently available.
- (c) Efforts will be made to obtain either the original papers or their copies, so that they could be studied.

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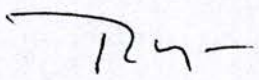
From: Indembassy Moscow  
To: Foreign New Delhi

DS(Soviet Union) from Narayan

CONTINUATION MY TELEX REGARDING  
RAJYA SABHA STARRED QUESTION FOR 2.1.91 ON  
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE. MATERIAL RECEIVED FROM  
SOVIET FOREIGN OFFICE ALONG WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
IS BEING SENT TO YOU BY NAME VIDE LETTER NO.MOS/POL/  
125/1/90 BY BAG BAG LEAVING TODAY.

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NTT-

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December 21, 1990

  
(R.L. Narayan)  
Minister (Political)

O/c



1-267 to 1-277 new delhi 90 101800

etat pty most immediate

to-indembassy moscow

1-268-indembassy belgrade

1-269- indembassy bucharest

1-270- indembassy budapest

1-271- indembassy berlin(gdr)

1-272- indembassy helsinki

1-273- indembassy prague

1-274- indembassy sofia

1-275- indembassy warsaw

1-276- congendia odessa

1-277- congendia tashkent

all head of mission from js(coord)

with regard to following rajya sabha unstarred  
question for answer on 16 may 1990, please let us have  
material relating to the country of your jurisdiction  
quote: shrimati manorma pandey: will the  
minister of external affairs be pleased to state the names  
of the countries where their own country language  
is made use of and where english is neither spoken  
nor used as link language ? unquote  
foreign

colls-1-267 to 1-277 mea/as/100905 pls ackit.

omission follows soon

18

100800

138

Ambassador

17/5/90

~~DD~~

Amb. has  
already  
replied.

17/5

CP7

14/5

240



11 13 324  
413409 indem su  
116115 cgisu su

Intlx no .37.

tashkent.

11/5/90 (137)

to foreign new delhi  
from congendia tashkent

js (coord) from cg  
rpt fs (pol) indembassy moscow

plsrefyr tlx no.1-277 of 10th reg rajya sabha unstarred question  
for answer on 16th may from smt. manorama pandey on use of english  
language in this country (.) understand that answer covering inter,  
alia, this consulate general, has already gone from indembassy (.)

regards (.)

116115 cgisu su  
413409 indem su

Handwritten notes and signatures:  
- "14/5" and "15/5" written vertically.  
- "CP" with a diagonal line through it.  
- "M" with a diagonal line through it.  
- "PCM" with a diagonal line through it.  
- "242/111332" written above a horizontal line.  
- "R. S. (Pol)" written below the horizontal line.  
- "12/5" written below the horizontal line.  
- "240" written below the horizontal line.  
- A red circle containing the letter "D".  
- A signature "B. S." written above the horizontal line.



1-267 to 1-277 new delhi 90 101800

etat pty most immediate

to-indembassz moscow

1-268-indembassy belgrade

1-269- indembassy bucharest

1-270- indembassy budapest

1-271- indembassy berlin(gdr)

1-272- indembassy helsinki

1-273- indembassy prague

1-274- indembassy sofia

1-275- indembassy warsaw

1-276- congendia odesa

1-277- congendia tashkent

all head of mission from js(coord)

with regard to following rajya sabha unstarred question for answer on 16 may 1990, please let us have material relating to the country of your jurisdiction quote: shrimati manorma pandey: will the minister of external affairs be pleased to state the names of the countries where their own country language is made use of and where english is neither spoken nor used as link language ? unquote foreign

colls-1-267 to 1-277 mea/as/101915 pls ackit.

16

101800  
Amb

Some files  
discontinued  
AS  
10/5/90

10/5

CAP

11/5

NGO



Telex

15

Foreign New Delhi

Joint Secretary(Coord) from Ambassador

Your telex i-267 of date. In the Soviet Union Russian is the official language and the link language. Each republic in addition uses its own language. English is spoken by a tiny minority and it certainly is not a link language.

2. Surely EE Division could have provided this information.

---

NTT

Q&S

(A.S. GONSALVES)

Ambassador

10.5.90

8/2



Crash

Crash

Crash

From: Indembassy Moscow

To: Foreign New Delhi

DS(SOVIET UNION) FROM NARAYAN

REFYR CRASH TELEX MESSAGE REGARDING  
 RAJYA SABHA STARRED QUESTION 1471 FOR 2 JANUARY ON  
 SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE. WE HAVE RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING  
 DOCUMENTS IN RUSSIAN FROM THE SOVIET FOREIGN OFFICE:

1. SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF BOSE
2. NOTES ON DISCUSSION BETWEEN SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES  
 ON AFGHANISTAN AND SECRETARY OF GERMAN MISSION SHMIDT  
 IN 1941
3. ANOTHER SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF BOSE CONTAINING ESSENTIALLY  
 THE SAME INFORMATION AS 1 ABOVE EXCEPT FOR AN ADDITIONAL  
 PARAGRAPH
4. ABSTRACTS ON BOSE FROM THE INDIAN PRESS FROM 1938 to 1941
5. ARTICLE BY DEVIATKIN ON SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION  
 OF BOSE

WE HAVE TRANSLATED ALL THE ABOVE EXCEPT  
 No. 5 WHICH IS A PUBLISHED ARTICLE OF THE LENGTH OF A  
 PAMPHLET. WE ARE SENDING YOU THE ORIGINAL RUSSIAN VERSIONS WITH  
 ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF 4 (FOUR) ARTICLES AND THE UNTRANSLATED VERSION OF THE  
 5TH ARTICLE BY NEXT BAG.

OF THE ABOVE ONLY Sl. No. 2 APPEARS TO  
 BE GENUINE ARCHIVAL MATERIAL. HOWEVER THIS DOES NOT  
 APPEAR AT FIRST GLANCE TO SHED MUCH LIGHT ON BOSE'S FATE.

REGARDS.

-----  
NTT------  
December 21, 1990

o/c (R L Narayan)  
 Minister (Political)



1-321 new delhi 200 191530

crash crash

to: indembassy moscow

minister(pol) from ds(su)

following notice for rajya sabha starred question no.

1471 for 2.1.1991 received.

'' quote

shari kapil verma: will the minister of external affairs  
be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the centre has instructed that indian embassy  
in moscow to make inquiries with the soviet government  
about the possibility of netaji subhash chandra bose having  
taken sheltering the soviet union after the second world war:
- (b) if so, what is the progress made in this connection:
- (c) the response, if any, of the soviet government.

unquote''

in this connection kindly refer to your letter no.  
mos/pol/125/1/90 dated 12.6.90 where in it is mentioned  
that a note verbale on the subject has been sent to  
foreign office.

telex draft reply/comments

== foreign==

colls 1-321 mea/kts/191804

13

19/6/80

m(pol)

133





भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 297-0820

132

No. Mos/Pol/125/1/90

October 4, 1990

The Director General  
National Archives of India  
Janpath, New Delhi 1

Dear Sir,

Please refer to reminder sent by you, the latest being your letter No. F.4(3)/5/90 P.A. dated 18 September 1990 regarding assurance given by Minister of State incharge of Human Resources Development Ministry on some secret documents relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, said to be in the possession of Soviet Union. On receipt of the original letter of even number of 11 May on this subject, we had addressed a Note Verbale to the Soviet Foreign Office asking them to share with us whatever information they have in their possession. We have subsequently been in periodic touch with the Soviet authorities with regard to the progress made by them in collecting the aforementioned material. We have just received a response from them enclosing considerable amount of material on Netaji as available in their archives. These are all in Russian and appear to be published rather than secret material. We are getting them translated in the Embassy and will be sending these to you in due course.

2. We are also reminding the Soviet authorities to let us have any further information that they may have on Netaji.

Yours faithfully

*R L Narayan*

(R L Narayan)  
Minister (Political)

O/C

*n/w*



No.F. 4(3)5/90 P.A.  
Government of India,  
National Archives of India,  
Janpath, New Delhi-1, the

18 SEP 1990

To

The First-Secretary,  
Indian Embassy in U.S.S.R.,  
Moscow,  
C/O Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

This is incontinuation of this Department letter of even No. dated 29 June, and 31 July, 1990 regarding some secret documents relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Soviet possession.

You are requested to intimate us the latest position in the matter so as to enable us to inform Department of Culture accordingly in view of the assurance given in Parliament in regard to the aforesaid documents.

Yours faithfully,

Msehgal

for Director General of Archives,  
Government of India.

Meh

✓  
25/9



Crash

Crash

From: Indembassy Moscow  
To: Foreign New Delhi

10

DS(Soviet Union) from Narayan

YOURTLX 377 ON SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.  
THE MATERIAL RECEIVED FROM THE FOREIGN OFFICE WHICH  
I HAVE SENT TO YOU BY BAG TODAY DOES NOT REPEAT  
NOT REFER AT ALL TO THE POSSIBILITY OF NETAJI  
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE HAVING TAKEN SHELTER IN THE  
USSR AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES  
WE WOULD SUGGEST REPLY AS FOLLOWS:

- a) THE INDIAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW HAS BEEN  
INSTRUCTED TO REQUEST THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO SHARE  
WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA MATERIAL RELATING TO  
NETAJI SUBHAS BOSE AVAILABLE IN THEIR ARCHIVES.
- b) & c) SOME MATERIAL HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ; WHILE THIS IS NOW BEING  
STUDIED THE MATERIAL MADE AVAILABLE SO FAR DOES  
NOT INDICATE THAT NETAJI SUBHAS BOSE HAD TAKEN SHELTER  
IN THE USSR DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

REGARDS.

-----

NTT-

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December 21, 1990

Th  
24/12/11  
NGO

*P. Vijaya Lakshmi*  
(R L Narayan)  
Minister (Political)



1-377

new delhi

70

211745

(9)

211605

(129)

211605  
24(Pol)

Telex issued on  
Friday  
24/11/70

N40

Crash

crash

crash

to : indembassy moscow

minister ( political ) from ds( su )

thanks for your telex on subhash chandra bose. does the material given to you by the foreign office confirm or deny the possibility of netaji subhash chandra bose having taken shelter in the soviet union after the second world war.? this part 'a' of the parliament question. kindly send us a suggested reply to the parliament question whose text is already with you .

foreign

colls: 1 -377/70/mea/rs/211755

crash ~~~~~-v



LETTERS

# Lost Leader

Sir, — This refers to the news item, "Fresh Clue On Netaji's Death" (September 3). The controversy over the mystery of Subhas Chandra Bose's reported death in the air crash at Taihoku, Formosa, on 18th August, 1945, revived by Mr Amiya Nath Bose on the basis of information received by him, cannot be brushed aside. Impartial and thorough investigation, if carried out by the government of India with the active co-operation and assistance of the Russian government, can certainly help us to unravel the truth.

Those who have followed the sequence of events relating to Bose's reported death will not subscribe to the theory of the alleged air crash. Many will recollect how Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, then our ambassador to Moscow, during one of her routine visits to India, wanted to inform us of a VIP then in the Soviet Union but did not for reasons still not known to us. Similarly, Mr Satya Narain Sinha, then a parliamentary secretary, gave us, after his return from a visit to Russia, the cell number of a VIP said to have been detained in that country but then too nobody bothered to go into the matter. Now the information given to Mr Amiya Nath Bose, our ex-ambassador to Burma, by a very senior former Swedish diplomat now engaged in the human rights movement, would, if analysed, go to prove that the VIP was none other than Bose and that something terrible must have happened to him around 1947 to 1949 in Siberia. I had the rare honour to be associated with the Indian national army and the Azad Hind government in South East Asia from the beginning to the end and can emphatically state that our leader did not die in the alleged air crash on 18th August, 1945.

Reports of Shanawaz and Khosla commission did not convince many. These commissions did not contact Col. Habibur Rehman, one of the most trusted officers of Netaji, who was with him till the time of escape to Russia via Manchuria and the man who has circulated the story of the air crash resulting in Netaji's death.

In the recent past, a number of attempts have been made to bring the so-called remains of Netaji from Tokyo to India. Once the remains are accepted by the highest authority of the land, then all speculation of his whereabouts would come to an end once and for all. The government of India should therefore initiate a thorough probe into the mystery.

S. K. BARDHAN  
Lucknow.

Pl. discuss with PPS  
By -  
17/11

SS/P

9 have sent a  
reply to the reminder  
from the National  
Archives. We shall now  
get the material sent  
by the Foreign Office  
Wimshurst  
By -





R L Narayan  
Minsiter(Political)

EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW

Telephone No. 297-08-20  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

127

81  
7

No. Mos/Pol/125/1/90

December 21, 1990

My dear Arvind,

Please refer to your crash telex No.I-321 of 19th December regarding Rajya Sabha Starred Question 1471 put down for answer on 2 January on Subhas Chandra Bose. As promised in my telex, I am enclosing the material in Russian which we have received from the Soviet Foreign Office. I am also enclosing translations of all the material except the article by T F Devyatkin on the socio - political contribution of Bose. We are working on this translation and will send it to you shortly. While the enclosed material does not appear to me to shed any further light on Bose's fate or his sojourn in the USSR, I trust that it would be sufficient to respond to the Parliament Question.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely

RLN

(R L Narayan)

Shri Arvind Gupta  
DS(Soviet Union)  
MEA, New Delhi

Encl:



BiographySubhash Chandra Bose

Age about 50 yrs. Son of a wealthy, Bengali landlord. Owns big house in Calcutta. Got higher education in England. Was selected in Indian Civil Service, but refused to join.

Joined politics in 1925-27. Since then started working for National Congress and other mass movements in India. He always was of left orientation. In 1926 organised the "Independent League" involving all leftist forces in the Congress. The League demanded "Total Independence for India".

Bose was popular amongst students and led a number of student organisations. At the same time was leader of leading trade unions in India - between 1929-31 was President of the Bengal Congress of Trade Unions.

Was in Europe between 1932-35 - in Italy and Germany. In 1934, in his book, and also in his public speeches he praised the Fascist system.

"Hindu" dated 10.1.1935 publishes Bose's views: "I know that I am known as Hitler's supporter. Of course, there is much to learn from Hitler's organisation. But I don't know how far it will be suitable to India. He said, after leaving Rome that the "Indian educated class kneels down before Mussolini" which generated sharp resentment in India.

In his book "India's struggle" he has said about communism as follows: "India cannot embrace communism for a number of reasons. As India is struggling for its freedom, at present there is no sympathy for communism in India. Though the communists are making efforts to get support from outside, Russia is holding a defensive position at present and hence has little interest in world revolution. The latest pacts signed by Russia and capitalist nations and Russia's stand in the League of Nations shows serious compromises made by this revolutionary state.



In the review of the above book in "Bombay chronicle" on 19.1.1935 Bose's views on fascism and communism are given: "In spite of the anti-thesis between the two isms, fascism and communism have some common features. Both believe in running the state above any personality cult. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both are for party power and party leader's dictatorship". Bose believed that on the basis of common features of these isms, a new ideology can be formulated.

When in India the atmosphere was created to have one national front against the British imperialism, Bose started speaking in support of USSR, against the aggression of the fascist forces, against the threat of neo-imperialistic war.

In 1937-38 Bose found a thread of similarity between the English and Indian communists. During his visit to Britain he met a number of communist leaders. After returning home he wrote "I found that the views of the British Communist Party agree with the policy of Indian National Congress, in general. During this time he took part in a number of workers' and farmers' rallies in favour of the united national front.

In 1938, at the 51st session of INC Bose was elected President of the INC. On the basis of the letter sent to him by the Indian communists they promised him their support.

Bose's leftist aspirations met with confrontations with the rightist forces within the Congress itself. At the 52nd session of INC, in spite of persistent effort by Gandhi and his rightist supporters to bring in their own candidate, Bose won the presidentship on the backing of the leftists.

The rightists were successful in passing a resolution by which the Executive Bureau of the Congress can be formed by the President only after it is okayed by Mahatma Gandhi. Bose could not agree with Gandhi on the composition of this bureau and resigned from presidentship as well as from the Executive bureau.



In 1939 he founded his own organisation, "Forward Block". They reiterated the demand of 'Total Independence' to India, immediate struggle against England and industrialisation in India.

Bose stressed that 'Forward Block' was formed to oppose the rightist forces in the Congress and their tendency to compromise with England. In March 1939, Bose gave an ultimatum to England that if India is not given Independence within six months, all-India campaign of civil disobedience will be started.

During the World War, Bose declared on behalf of the Forward Block that India has to become Independent to decide for herself whether to participate or not to participate in the War. Bose considered the War to be imperialistic. Earlier he considered Poland to be a semi-fascist regime but after Germany's attack on Poland, Bose expressed his sympathy for Poland. About USSR, Bose said that it was the only socialist country in the world that remained neutral. Bose stressed that India must be given freedom without connecting the issue with the then world situation.

By March 1940, Bose's attacks on Gandhi and other rightist leaders became sharper, at the annual session of INC at Ramgadh. Bose called for immediately starting the Civil Disobedience Movement. This was turned down by the Congress leadership. Bose organised "Anti-compromise Block" a parallel to Congress organisation.

Bose opted for a split in the Congress. In "Amrita Bazar Patrika" dated 10.11.1940 Bose declared that "we are removing all those from the Congress who support the policy of compromise. If they want to function on behalf of the Congress, there will be two Congresses. Bose organised rallies against Gandhi and Gandhians.

From the very beginning of the war between USSR and Finland, Bose criticised the anti-Soviet campaign. It should be noted that Bose was the only leader from INC who unconditionally supported the Soviet Union.



Bose tried to enter the Soviet Union twice, but couldn't succeed. Bose explained to Achar Singh to approach Comm. Stalin for seeking armed help for India's struggle against British Imperialism.

Till his end, Bose strove for radical and progressive demands but his methods were always disorganizational, dissenting and at times of adventurous nature. By organising "Forward Block" and then 'Anti-Compromise Council of Action' Bose weakened the national force, in a bid to oppose Congress.

While fighting against the rightist forces in the Congress, Bose himself aligns with the reactionary forces like the Hindu Maha Sabha on the question of Calcutta Municipality elections. Then snapping ties within HMS, Bose joins hands with not less reactionary Muslim during the elections proving his unprincipled political stand.

Still, Bose remains an important figure on the arena of the national freedom movement. He influenced the political life of Bengal commanding popularity amongst students and intelligentsia of India. He was undoubtedly against the British regime in India and was of the opinion of using diplomacy and international situation to achieve independence. "In order to vouch for his intentions to seek Soviet support for India's freedom movement, his speeches should be studied and not the changes in his political principles".

#### Sharat Chandra Bose

Subhash Chandra Bose's brother, powerful capitalist and landlord earning around 400-500 thousand rupees p.a. An eminent activist of Bengal INC. Became President of Provincial Committee of INC, Bengal and member of Executive Bureau of All-India Congress Committee. Left Executive Bureau with his brother in 1939. Leader of Bengal Trade Unions. In INC, he was affiliated to the leftist wing.

5.2.1941

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By Gulyaev Kozlov



Record of conversation between Soviet Representative in Afghanistan V S Kozlov with the Secretary of the German Mission Schmidt on 15 March 1941

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Schmidt came to obtain a visa for an Italian citizen Orlando. He wanted me for the passport and asked me a general question "What news"?

I informed him that normal diplomatic, trade and consular relations between the USSR and Tai (?) were established.

Schmidt said that he spoke with German Charge d' Affaires Schilger regarding the aims of a visit of the Turkish Charge d'Affaires (see my conversation with the German mission Secretary Schmidt, dated 3.3.1941). The Turk, supposedly, told Schilger that Turkey was not going to be at war with Germany and the Turkish Government, supposedly, sent a letter to Hitler where it expressed the desire to keep its neutrality in the future. In connection with the fact that Turkey was not going to participate in the current war, the Afghanistan Government felt quite calm as it would not be obliged to render assistance to Turkey to any extent though Afghanistan was connected with Turkey through the agreement. The German stated that in 2-3 days Yugoslavia would join the Triple Pact and after this, Greece would also join Germany under influence of various actions. Thus, the German continued, the German position would be strengthened. The main German task currently was to arrange an attack upon England by surrounding it from each side. After the utter defeat of England, Germans would pay attention to Africa. In connection with this statement, I asked him if it was true that Hitler took measures to obtain a permission of the French Government to occupy several ports of North Africa to fight with England and if France assisted Germany. The German gave an evasive answer to the first question and said that this variant was possible in general; as for the French assistance to Germany, this help was actually received from France.



Speaking about the British position and about the help they could get from America, the German said that the British home front was unstable and in particular the current situation in India was quite tense for England. This strained situation would be increased when Subhas Chandra Bose would visit Germany and Bose was a very influential figure in India. He would be used by Germans for propaganda against the British domination in India and finally everything would be arranged in such a way that the Indians would come out against their oppressors and throw them out of their territory. The German said that they were going to use Bose giving him the opportunity to speak over the Radio not in Germany but in Japan. Then Schmidt said that the temporary successes of the British in Africa had only a surface character, since actually, the troops were dragged to Africa and it affected the military power of England and its home front.

I told<sup>him</sup> that I have read in British bulletins about the arrival of Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Matsuoka into USSR territory for a further trip to Berlin and Rome. Schmidt stated that Matsuoka would visit not only Berlin and Rome but would certainly have talks with the Soviet Government. Then Schmidt added with meaning that recently Com. Molotov attended receptions in the Japanese Mission twice.

While leaving, Schmidt said that Germans liked our movies and asked if we received new movies from the USSR. I assured that in the near future we possibly would arrange a demonstration of a new Soviet movie for the German Mission. Then Schmidt said that he was interested in it also because he had a family friend who was a good man and his attitude to our country was favourable, his name was Schwarz and he worked in a hospital. Schmidt would like him to be invited to our place for a movie too.

.. - Signed -  
(KOZLOV)



The Biographical summary is the same as in Document No. 1. The following is the additional information.

Bose formed the Indian National Army of Indians, living on territories occupied by Japan. He declared that with the help of Germany and Japan he is fighting for India's independence. As per 'Reuters' Correspondent's report dated 11.10.1946 Bose died in August 1945 in a crash of a Tokyo bound flight.

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by: Y. Amiantov  
R. Paradizov  
Central Party Archives of  
Institute of Marxism-Leninism  
under CC-CPSU



## DOCUMENT No.4

122

ABSTRACTS FROM INDIAN PRESS 1938-1941 (Items on Bose)Bose's proposals on United Front rejected by Gandhi

In "Tribune" 23 February. The correspondence between Gandhi and the leader of "Forward Bloc" before Bose's disappearance was published. It is evident from Bose's letter sent to Gandhi on December 23 1941 that Bose was not religious and mystical, as it was depicted in newspapers after his disappearance. In two of Bose's letters sent to Gandhi he offered the United Front and participation of "Forward Bloc" members in the Satyagraha campaign. At the same time he indicated that this movement (Satyagraha) was limited and thought that only mass struggle could result in victory. "I thought he wrote, "that you would declare a mass movement as you did in 1921, 30 and 32 though I knew that you allow only personal disobedience. It is quite evident now that the movement organized by you does not pursue objects of national liberation struggle. This movement is not a mass struggle to such an extent. If the government should have agreed to allow anti-war military speeches the movement would be dismissed by you. Nevertheless we would like within the framework of our programme to unite with you in this movement in spite of limited character.

Ignoring our disagreement with the Congress high leadership, we propose unity without demanding any special conditions. Simultaneously we of course don't shut our eyes on more wider tasks that our country should settle. Please accept our proposals regarding our joint actions".

Gandhi rejected these proposals saying that the trends of movement ~~of~~ headed by these leaders are quite opposite.



### Vanishing of Bose - Leader of "Forward Bloc"

Radio and newspapers on January 28 1941 informed the public that the leader of the "Forward Bloc" Subhash Chandra Bose, released from prison at the beginning of December had disappeared from his flat. On 4th February 1941 hearings in the court would begin accusing him of delivering opposition speeches as well as in connection with the article "Day of Retribution". In connection with Bose's disappearance newspapers inform us that from 16th January (i.e. several days before his disappearance) Bose locked himself in the room, drew the curtains on windows and doors and went deep into meditation. He requested people not to enter his room asked to leave food once per day behind the curtain so he couldn't see it. He was deeply involved in reading religious books. On January 26 it turned out that the food left on the eve was untouched. There was no answer to knocking on the door from the room where Bose stayed. Entering the room his relatives found that Bose had disappeared. Investigations did not give any results: Bose was not found anywhere.

The acting Chairman of "Forward Bloc" Sardar Sardul Singh Kashiwar in his press statement said that he was shocked when he learnt about Bose's disappearance.

"A month ago" he said "during my last visit to Calcutta, we had three long discussions on the internal and international situation. I noticed that his illness influenced his mentality considerably.

He was very upset by the fact that the Congress leadership left the country at the mercy of Fate at such a crucial moment. I told him that under the pressure of public opinion Gandhi demonstrated his inclination to keep the existing situation in view. I told him that permanent and tenacious work will result in taking the right course by Congress. But he expressed pessimistic thoughts regarding it".

The acting Chairman of "Forward Bloc" Sardul Singh Kashiwar stated further that due to his illness Subhash Bose expressed strange thoughts including one that only the poor monks of pilgrims' houses in south India could save the country. (Tribune 28 January).

"Tribune" 28 and 29th January informs us that the Government issued an order for Bose's arrest at any place where he could be found. The police searched his room for 3 hours. The police questioned Bose's relatives thoroughly and recorded their evidences. Bose's disappearance is a sensation not only in Calcutta but throughout India. Journalists, policebodies attacked Bose's relatives with questions, cables received from everywhere, the telephones rang constantly.



The police searched for Bose earnestly. Before Bose's disappearance resolutions, condolences were adopted by many meetings, arranged by "Forward Bloc", with wishes to return back to political activities as soon as possible. The newspaper "Tribune" published an editorial about Bose's disappearance (other newspapers gave only facts of his disappearance). The editorial stated that Bose was disappointed by political activity and took the decision to become a monk and devote himself to religion. We publish this editorial below:

"The sudden disappearance of Bose from the field of political activity will cause sincere regrets even to people who have not met him personally, as well as those who consider his current activity to be not very correct. In spite of our disagreement with Bose we didn't shut our eyes to the extraordinary qualities of his mind and heart. We also don't cheat ourselves regarding the fact that he had unlimited influence on the young generation who supported him unanimously. Society cannot forget the great sacrifices which he made for the welfare of the country. His renunciation of world has struck a great blow to the political life of the country and this opinion is supported by those who have not shared his views completely.

His renunciation of the world, even though everybody knows him, as a fighting politician, is like a bolt from the blue for the wide public. But it is not a surprise to those who studied thoroughly the life of this impetuous character.

Firstly, even when he was young Bose was religious. When he was eighteen he left his house unexpectedly for Haardwar searching for a "guru". He returned back only because he was indignant with the luxury which surrounded his guru. Bose was not gifted with good health and according to the conclusion of experts such a state of health causes permanent anxiety and extreme sensitivity in such characters. No politician would have found his plans to be destroyed as Bose did. When he was young he was expelled from college. He graduated from religious college but did not follow this holy way. His attempt to serve in one of Calcutta Government department failed and he was arrested by the government. Later on when he was elected the Chairman of Congress he had no opportunity to fulfil his intentions, and even when Bose was enthroned against inspite of the struggle of the older generation's opposition, he was expelled from the Congress.

Soon after the Tripura session of the Congress he wrote the following:

"Due to the unhealthy moral situation in Tripura I leave this place with disgust and hatred for politics and I did not experience such a feeling during the last 19 years. When I tossed in my bed in Dgamadoba day and night I asked myself again and again "What will become of our public life if there is so much hatred and vengeance even in our upper circles. My thoughts reverted to the call of the Himalayas. I spent days and nights thinking and hesitating. But gradually a new spirit dawned upon me and I reestablished myself and my confidence in the fate and people of my country. New events shocked him again and this time he decided to renounce the world and he had made it. It's true that sometimes many small blows are worse than one big wound. But it should have been better if he occupied his post independently, if he managed that the majority of the country would share his political ideas. In any case the work done by Bose for the country can't be forgotten. Regretting his disappearance from the political arena everybody will wish him success in a new field.



ам  
вс  
ТОВАРИЩУ ЛОЗОВСКОМУ.

Заран  
#107

По поручению тов. Г.М.ДИМИТРОВА посылаю просимую Вами характеристику на индусского деятеля БОСА.

Приложение: справка на 7 стр.

СЕКРЕТАРИАТ тов.ДИМИТРОВА:

Татаренко

/ ТАТАРЕНКО /

5.П.1941 г.

#95.

Ред. В  
#3/2

Секретариат  
13.9.55



①

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III 7-2

РАССЕКРЕТНО.  
Секретно.  
10 г.  
14.10.1988СПРАВКА.

БОС СУБАШ ЧАНДРА - возраст около 50 лет. Сын бенгальского крупного помещика. Имеет большой дом в Калькутте. Получил высшее образование в Англии. Был зачислен по департаменту индийской гражданской службы, но от службы отказался.

На политической арене Индии появился около 1925-1927г. С этого времени начал активную работу в Национальном конгрессе и других массовых организациях Индии. В рядах Конгресса всегда являлся одним из лидеров левого крыла. В 1928г. организовал "Лигу независимости", объединив все левые элементы Конгресса. Лига выступила с требованием полной независимости Индии.

БОС популярен в кругах студенчества, был фактическим руководителем ряда студенческих организаций. Одновременно занимал видное место в руководящих кругах индийских профсоюзов. Состоял руководителем ряда союзов в Бенгале, в то же время с 1929г. по 1931г. был председателем Всеиндийского Конгресса профсоюзов.

В 1932-1935г.г. находился в Европе, в том числе в Италии и Германии. В своей книге, написанной им в 1934г., а также в публичных выступлениях того времени, он высказывал похвалу фашистским порядкам. Газета "Хинду" от 10.1.1935г. передает следующее заявление БОСА: "Это полная новость для меня, что меня рассматривают как советника Гитлера. Конечно, в организации Гитлера есть многое, что достойно изучения, но поскольку дело идет о его принципах,

13.10.1988



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2. - 677

я не вижу, как они могут апеллировать в Индии". Выезжая из Рима БОС заявил, что "образованные классы Индии очень преклоняются перед синьором Муссолини", что вызвало резкое недовольство газеты "Бомбей Кроникл" от 7.П.1935г. Та же газета от 19.1.1935г. рецензируя только что выпущенную тогда БОСОМ книгу "Индийская борьба", приводит следующее рассуждение БОСА о коммунизме: "Индия не примет коммунизма по многим причинам. В настоящее время коммунизм не сочувствует национализму любого вида, между тем индийское движение есть националистическое движение, за национальное освобождение индийского народа. Во-вторых, Россия держится сейчас оборонительной позиции и мало заинтересована в том, чтобы вызвать мировую революцию, хотя Коммунистический Интернационал может продолжать пытаться поддерживать это внешне. Недавние пакты между Россией и капиталистическими странами и писанные и неписанные условия, включенные в эти пакты, а также вступление России в Лигу Наций серьезно скомпрометировали положение революционной власти".

В той же рецензии так излагается отношение БОСА к фашизму и коммунизму: "БОС утверждает, что несмотря на антитезис между коммунизмом и фашизмом, у них имеются некоторые общие черты. Оба, как коммунизм, так и фашизм верят в примат государства над личностью. Оба осуждают парламентский демократизм. Оба стоят за власть партии. Оба стоят за диктатуру партии и беспощадное подавление всякого инакомыслящего меньшинства". Далее в рецензии сказано, что БОС высказывает такую мысль, что общие черты фашизма и коммунизма могут сформировать базис нового синтеза.



После УП-го конгресса КИ в период, когда в Индии раз-  
вернулась борьба за единый национальный фронт против бри-  
танского империализма, БОС начал выступать в защиту СССР,  
против агрессии фашистских стран, против угрозы новой им-  
периалистической войны.

В 1937-1938г.г. БОС искал сближения с английскими и  
индийскими коммунистами. Во время своей поездки в Англию  
он, очевидно, имел встречу с руководителями КП Англии, т.  
по возвращении из Лондона он писал: "Я чрезвычайно вооду-  
шевлен позицией вождей британской коммунистической партии  
чьей генеральной политикой по отношению к Индии, как мне  
кажется, является согласие с индийским Национальным Кон-  
грессом". В эти годы он много выступал на массовых митин-  
гах рабочих и крестьян в пользу единого национального фро-  
та.

На 51-й сессии Индийского Национального Конгресса в  
1938г. он был избран председателем Национального Конгрес-  
са. Судя по письму индийских коммунистов, посланному БОСУ  
индийские коммунисты обещали ему поддержку. В статье "Хар-  
пурская сессия Индийского Национального Конгресса" в 1938  
тов. БРЕДЛИ дал очень хорошую оценку председательской речи  
БОСА и выразил уверенность, что судя по заявлениям, БОС  
будучи председателем Конгресса будет проводить политику  
своего предшественника Джавахарлала Неру.

Левый курс БОСА привел к столкновению с правым кры-  
лом Конгресса. На следующей 52-й сессии БОС вновь выстави  
свою кандидатуру в председатели Конгресса и вопреки настс-  
чивым попыткам Ганди и всего правого крыла провести своего  
кандидата, БОС, опираясь на поддержку левых, был избран  
ВНОВЬ.



Правые сумели провести резолюцию, согласно которой исполнительное бюро Конгресса может быть сформировано председателем Конгресса только при условии утверждения его состава Махатмой Ганди. БОС не смог договориться с Ганди о составе Исполбюро и вышел в отставку с поста председателя Конгресса, а также вышел из состава Исполбюро.

В 1939г. БОС создал свою организацию под названием "Форвард Блок". Эта организация выдвинула требования: полная независимость Индии, немедленное начало борьбы против Англии и прогрессивная индустриализация Индии. БОС подчеркивал тот факт, что "Форвард Блок" создан в противовес правому руководству Конгресса и ставил перед собой задачу, бороться против тенденции правого крыла к компромиссу с британским империализмом. В марте 1939г. БОС и его сторонники пред"явили английским властям следующий ультиматум: если Индии не будет предоставлена независимость, то через 6 м-цев будет начата Всеиндийская кампания гражданского неповиновения.

В начале нынешней войны БОС от имени "Форвард Блока" выступил с заявлением о том, что Индия должна быть свободной, чтобы решить свою судьбу, а также решить вопрос об участии или неучастии в войне. Нынешнюю войну БОС считает империалистической. Польшу он рассматривал как полуфашистское государство, но ввиду того, что она, по его словам, стала жертвой нападения со стороны Германии, он выразил ей свою симпатию. Об СССР БОС заявил, что "единственная социалистическая страна в мире осталась нейтральной". БОС высказался в том смысле, что независимо от сложившейся международной обстановки, Индия должна добиваться полной



независимости.

Нападки БОСА на правое руководство конгресса и особенно на Ганди за полную бездеятельность Конгресса с начала войны, за готовность руководства Конгресса добиться компромисса с английской буржуазией, за некоторые уступки со стороны последней, достигли наибольшей остроты в марте 1940г. к моменту годичной сессии Национального Конгресса в Рамгаре.

БОС выступил с требованием немедленного начала кампании гражданского неповиновения. На отказ со стороны руководства Конгресса согласиться с требованиями БОСА, последний параллельно с сессией Конгресса созвал в Рамгаре конференции "Анти-компромиссного Блока" и создал "Анти-Компромиссный совет действия", который по существу должен был стать организацией, параллельной руководящим органам Конгресса.

БОС сознательно шел на раскол Конгресса. В газете "Амрита Базар Патрика" от 10.П.1940г. было напечатано заявление, в котором БОС писал: "Мы исключим из Конгресса всех тех, кто поддерживает компромисс, если эти соглашатели будут выступать от имени Конгресса. Разумеется, тогда будет два Конгресса".

В тот период БОС организовал ряд публичных демонстраций против Ганди и Гандистов. Демонстрации закончились взаимным избиением между сторонниками Ганди и БОСА.

С самого начала войны между СССР и финляндской белогвардейщиной, БОС на многочисленных митингах, а также в печати выступал против антисоветской кампании, проводившейся империалистической, а затем и националистской прессой в Индии. Необходимо учесть, что БОС был почти единственным из руководителей Национального Конгресса, выступившим без-



оговорочно в защиту политики советского правительства.

Осенью 1940г. БОС обратился к Ачар Сингху с просьбой организовать ему переход границы СССР, на что он дал 200 рупий, но пойти ему не удалось, т.к. накануне назначенного им дня отправки, он был арестован. Известна и другая попытка со стороны БОСА связаться с СССР. Шанкар Лал, просивший летом 1940г. разрешения на везд в СССР, является одним из близких БОСУ людей и несомненно направлялся в СССР по поручению последнего.

Свои намерения поехать в СССР БОС об"яснил Ачар Сингху намерением обратиться к тов.СТАЛИНУ за вооруженной поддержкой борьбы индийского народа против британского империализма.

До последнего времени БОС выступает с очень радикальными, прогрессивными требованиями, но его методы борьбы носят часто дезорганизаторский, раскольнический и даже иногда авантюристский характер. Организуя "Форвард Блок" он противопоставил его Национальному Конгрессу, что вело к разобщению и ослаблению национальных сил. Тоже самое можно сказать и об организации "Анти"компромиссного совета действия".

Выступая против Ганди и его сторонников с демонстрациями, закончившимися убийствами, против британского правительства, БОС выступил с кампанией гражданского неповиновения, потребовав лишь удаления одного империалистического памятника в Калькутте. Именно в результате этого мирного движения он был арестован. БОС борется против правого крыла Конгресса, а сам вступает в соглашение с явно реакцион-



ными элементами, примером чего может служить его соглашение с Хинду Маха Сабха перед Рамгарской сессией по вопросу о выборах в Калькуттский Муниципалитет. Затем порвав соглашение с Хинду Маха Сабха, он блокировался на выборах с другой не менее реакционной организацией - Мусульманской Лигой, что характеризует беспринципность политических позиций БОС.

БОС все же является крупной фигурой национально-освободительного движения Индии. Он имеет большой вес в политической жизни Бенгала /более 50 миллионов населения/, очень популярен в студенческих кругах, а также в кругах городской мелкой буржуазии и интеллигенции по всей Индии. Он безусловно является противником британского господства в Индии, но он сам заявлял в 1935 г., что в политической борьбе надо уметь использовать дипломатию и международную обстановку. Обращение его намерениям получить поддержку Советского Союза в борьбе Индии против британского империализма, необходимо искать в первую очередь в этом его заявлении, а не в какой-то коренной перемене его политических принципов.

БОС САРАТ ЧАНДРА - брат Субаш БОСА, крупный капиталист и помещик, имеющий около 400-500 тыс. рупий годового дохода. Видный деятель Национального Конгресса в Бенгале. В течение ряда лет состоял председателем Бенгальского провинциального комитета Конгресса и членом Исполнительного Бюро Всеиндийского Комитета Конгресса. Вышел из состава Исполбюро вместе со своим братом в 1939 г. Является бессменным руководителем ряда бенгальских профсоюзов. В Национальном Конгрессе примыкает к левому крылу.

ЗАВ. ОТДЕЛОМ КАДРОВ ИККИ:

СТ. РЕФЕРЕНТ:

"5" февраля 1941 г.  
3 экз. ак.

/ТУЛЯЕВ/

/КОЗЛОВ/



## ВСТРЕЧА АФГАНСКОГО КОРОЛЯ С ВОЕННЫМ МИНИСТРОМ .

"Бомбей Хроникль" от 27 января сообщает из Пешавара :  
"Король Захир Шах имел встречу и разговор с афганским  
военным министром, продолжавшиеся несколько часов.

Сардар Шах Махмуд Хан, военный министр Афганистана,  
осветил результаты своей поездки по северной границе.  
Министр передал королю чувства любви и лояльности наро-  
дов северных провинций".

## "СОВЕТСКАЯ РОССИЯ - ЕДИНСТВЕННАЯ СТРАНА СТРЕМЯЩАЯСЯ К МИРУ " .

"ЛЕНИНСКИЙ ДЕНЬ В КАРАЧИ".

/"Трибун" 25 января 1941 года/.

"Наджи" 22 января

"С большим энтузиазмом прошел "Ленинский день" организо-  
ванный Синдским комитетом профсоюзов. На митинге рабочих  
единогласно принята резолюция в которой выражен протест  
против империалистической войны. В резолюции говорится, что  
Советская Россия является единственной страной стремящейся  
к миру и защищающей интересы рабочих..

В другой резолюции собрание обратилось в Всеиндийскому ко-  
митету профсоюзов с требованием выработать программу обще-  
национальной борьбы, так как Конгресс с"узил борьбу, сводя  
ее к индивидуальным протестам.

Резко заклеветана политика ренегата Роя мобилизующего  
силы для поддержки империализма".

## ИСЧЕЗНОВЕНИЕ БОСА-ЛИДЕРА "БОРВАРД БЛОКА"

По сообщению радио и газет от 28 января 1941 года исчез  
из своей квартиры, освобожденный в начале декабря из тюрьмы,  
лидер "Борвард Блока" Субха Чандра Бос. С 4-го февраля  
1941 года в Алипоре над Бозом должен был состояться суд по  
обвинению его в произнесении в феврале 1940 г. речей непо-  
зиционного характера, а также в связи с его статьей "День  
Возмездия".

В связи с исчезновением Боса газеты сообщают, что с 16-го  
января, за несколько дней до исчезновения, Бос заперся в  
своей комнате завесил окна и двери и углубился в религиоз-  
ное молчание. Он просил никого не заходить в комнату, нику  
ставить за завесами, за пределами его видимости, один раз  
в день. Он углубился в чтение религиозных книг. 26 января  
было сообщено, что лица, поставленная накануне, осталась



нетронутой. Из комнаты, где находился Бос, не последовало никакого ответа на оклики. Войдя в комнату близкие обнаружили исчезновение Боса. Произведенные исследования обнаружили, что нигде у родственников Боса не оказалось,

ныне исполняющий обязанности председателя "Форвард Блока" Сардар Сардул Синх Кашивар, в заявлении сделанном печати сказал, что он потрясен сообщением об исчезновении Боса.

"Месяц тому назад - сказал он, - во время моего последнего пребывания в Калькутте, я имел с ним три долгих беседы о внутреннем и международном положении. Я обнаружил тогда, что его болезнь оказала сильное действие на его мышление.

Он был очень удручен тем обстоятельством, что в нынешний критический момент руководство Конгресса покинуло страну на произвол судьбы. Я сказал ему, что, под давлением общественного воздействия Ганди выказывает склонность к тому, чтобы учесть создавшуюся обстановку. Я также сказал ему, что постоянная и упорная работа приводит к тому, что Конгресс примет правильный курс. Но он высказывал пессимистические мысли по поводу этого.

Тогдашний председатель "Форвард Блока" Сардул Кашивар заявил, что вследствие своей болезни Субха Бос высказывал такие странные мысли, что только бедствующие монахи приемных домов богомольцев в Южной Индии могут спасти страну. /"Трибун", "Синд. энд Мил. Газетт" 28 января /.

"Трибун" от 28 и 29 января, сообщает о том, что правительство издало приказ об аресте Боса, везде где он будет обнаружен. В комнате где он находился, полицией произведен трехчасовой обыск. Полицией тщательно опрошены родные Боса и записаны их показания. Исчезновение Боса является сенсацией не только города Калькутты, но и всей Индии. Родные Боса озабочены вопросами журналисты, полициейские органы, отовсюду приходят телеграммы, не перестают звонить телефонные звонки. Проводятся усиленные розыски Боса.

После исчезновения Боса на многих митингах проводимых "Форвард Блоком" выносились резолюции сожаления по поводу болезни его с пожеланиями скорейшего возвращения к политической деятельности.

Газета "Трибун" от 29 января поместила передовицу, посвященную исчезновению Боса. /Другие газеты ограничиваются сообщениями фактов о его исчезновении/.

Передовица исходит из того, что Бос разочаровался в политической деятельности и решил уйти в монахи, отречься от мира, посвятить себя службам религии.

Приводим ниже передовицу:

арены

"Внезапное исчезновение Боса с политической деятельности вызовет искреннее сожаление даже тех, кто даже не встречался с ним лично, так и тех, кто считал его немощным человеком не совсем здоровым.



Несмотря на наши разногласия с Босом, мы не закрывали глаз на исключительные качества его ума и сердца. Он также не обманывался на тот счет, что он пользовался безграничным влиянием среди молодого поколения, которое всецело поддерживало его. Общество не может забыть великие жертвы, которые он принес для блага страны. Его отречение от мира является большим ударом, нанесенным политической жизни страны и это несомненно раздвигает даже те, кто не по Боссу соглашался с ним.

Самоотречение от мира человеком, которого все знают как боевого политика, представляется громом среди ясного неба для широкой публики, но не является сюрпризом для того, кто внимательно изучал жизнь этой стремительной натуры.

Бос-пандых, даже в свои молодые годы Бос был религиозно настроен. В восемнадцать лет он неожиданно покинул дом и ушел в Гардвар в поисках религиозного наставника. Вернулся он домой лишь исключительно потому, что был полон возмущения от той роскоши, которая окружала его религиозного наставника.

Босу не дано было свыше хорошее здоровье, а по заключению экспертов такое состояние здоровья вызывает постоянное беспокойство и чрезвычайную чувствительность таких личностей.

Ни у одного политика так не разбивались планы как у Босса. В молодости он был исключен из колледжа. Окончив духовный колледж - но не посетив себя служению небес. Его больше знал голос страны. Его попытки служить в одном из департаментов Калькутты окончились тем, что правительство его арестовало.

Только когда он был избран председателем Конгресса, он не имел возможности выполнить свои намерения. И даже, когда, вопреки отчаянной борьбе оппозиции старших поколений, Бос снова был возведен на трон - его изгнали из конгресса.

Вскоре после трипурской сессии Конгресса он писал следующее :

"Вследствие нездоровой моральной атмосферы в Трипуре, я покидаю это место с чувством отвращения и неохоты к политике, к которой я не считывал за последние 19 лет. Я спал и метался в своем постеле в Джамшедпуре день и ночь, и спрашивал себя : снова и снова : что может стать с нашей общественной жизнью, если даже в борбах так много злобы и истинности. Я снова естественно возвращался к тому что больше всего близко мое сердце - к зову Гималаев. Я проводил дни и ночи в печальных сомнениях и колебаниях. Но постепенно новый дух овладел моим сердцем, и снова возманил себя к зову воды в судьбу и людей родины". /источник не указывается. Р.Д./



"Новые события опять потрясли его. На этот раз он решил отречься от мира и сделал это.

... Верно, что иногда много мелких ударов, тяжело сносятся, чем одно крупное ранение. Но было бы лучше, если бы он остался на своем посту, независимо от того удалось ли ему заставить большинство в стране разделять его политический образ мыслей.

Во всяком случае, дело, сделанное Басом для страны не может быть забыто. Сожался о его уходе с политической арены, каждый пожелает ему успеха на новом поприще."

### НОВЫЙ ГЛАВНОКОМАНДУЮЩИЙ ВОЕННЫМИ СИЛАМИ

И Н Д И И .

По сообщению "Синд энд Милитери Газетт" от 28 января в Нью-Дели назначен 26 января новым главнокомандующим военными силами в Индии сэр Клард Очинлок, который поручил командование от бывшего главнокомандующего сэра Роберта Касселлса, напавшегося в Кашмир.

### МОНЕТЫ АСТРОНОМИЧЕСКОГО ЧИСЛА .

Газета "Синд энд. Мил. Газ." от 25 января сообщает о том, что монетный двор Бомбей печатает в астрономических количествах монеты. Монетный двор работает по 20 часов в сутки.

### ТОРГОВЛЯ ИНДИИ С АНГЛИЕЙ.

"Синд энд Мил. Газетт" от 29 января 1941 года сообщает следующие данные о торговле Индии с Англией.

"Импорт из Англии в Индию в течение 1939-40 г. снизился на 4,87 лакхов рупий /лакх. - 100000 рупий Р. / к то время, как экспорт в Англию увеличился на 16,62 лакха рупий или на 29 процентов.

Ввоз из Англии состоял, главным образом, из машин, фабричного оборудования, текстильных изделий, металлов, главным образом железа и стали. Все вместе это составило 40 процентов общей стоимости импорта из Англии.

В Англию были вывезены главным образом следующие товары: чай, джут /сырец и сабрикаты/ кожи и шкуры, хлопок сырец, маслянистые семена, металлы, шерсть - сырец, сырма; все эти товары вместе взятые составили 88 процентов всего экспорта в Англию из Индии, против 85 процентов в прошлом году.

Экспорт чая достиг 287 миллионов английских фунтов против 304 миллионов прошлого года, но зато поднялся в цене с



Academy of Science, USSR  
Oriental Studies Institute

АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК СССР  
ОРДЕНА ТРУДОВОГО КРАСНОГО ЗНАМЕНИ  
ИНСТИТУТ ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ

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Social  
Ideas  
of  
India

# Общественная МЫСЛЬ ИНДИИ

прошлое и настоящее

past  
and  
present

790561

МНД СССР  
ЦЕНТРАЛЬНАЯ НАУЧНАЯ  
БИБЛИОТЕКА



Москва  
НАУКА

Главная редакция восточной литературы  
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Т. Ф. Девяткина

СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ВЗГЛЯДЫ  
С. Ч. БОСА

Одной из наиболее противоречивых фигур индийского национально-освободительного движения является Субхас Чандра Бос. Самые разные оценки получили его деятельность, социальные, политические и идейные взгляды в многочисленных работах историков, мемуарах, отзывах его современников и соратников.

Известный исследователь истории Индийского национального конгресса, видный деятель антиимпериалистического движения, хорошо знавший С. Ч. Босу, Б. П. Ситарамая обращал внимание на сложность трактовки его взглядов и характера самой личности. «В нем много привлекательного — бурная жизнь с детства и странное сочетание мистицизма с реализмом, горячий, доходящий до фанатизма страстности и сурового практического здравого смысла; глубокая эмоциональная впечатлительность и холодный расчетливый прагматизм»<sup>1</sup>. Он же отмечал, что С. Ч. Бос и М. К. Ганди были двумя полярными фигурами. Ганди руководствовался интуицией, С. Ч. Бос — разумом<sup>2</sup>. На последнее обстоятельство обращали внимание и многие другие исследователи, выделяя противоречивость подходов того и другого к решению задач освободительной борьбы. Характеристика, данная Ситарамайей Босу, близка к объективной, хотя первый был активным сторонником и идейным последователем М. К. Ганди. Автор дает представление о сложности и незаурядности Боса — политического деятеля, игравшего важную роль в развитии антиколониального движения в Индии. Деятельность его вызывала острые споры спустя многие десятилетия после его гибели.

Взгляды Боса существенно отличались от гандистских. Он был одним из тех немногих лидеров национально-освободительного движения, которые противостояли Ганди в поворотные периоды борьбы, и значение этого противостояния состояло в том, что в целом движение приобретало более решительный характер, ибо в нем взаимодействовали разные точки зрения, способствовавшие выявлению ведущей линии. Бос в некоторых случаях оказывался побежденным, в стороне от основного направления освободительного движения. Следу-

ет отметить, что, несмотря на разногласия с М. К. Ганди, Субхас Чандра Бос понимал величие последнего и относился к нему с уважением<sup>3</sup>.

В его взглядах и поступках было много сугубо индивидуального, яркого и вместе с тем трудно понимаемого, особенно в последний период его жизни, оказавшийся так или иначе связанным с фашистской Германией и милитаристской Японией. Многие исследователи просто опускают этот этап его жизни, ограничиваясь несколькими негативными фразами, и довольно подробно останавливаются на его участии в освободительном движении и деятельности по организации индийской национальной армии в Юго-Восточной Азии. Но внимание к нему не ослабевает. В Индии время от времени в печати появлялись разнообразные легенды о загадочном исчезновении Боса в конце второй мировой войны. Так, в середине 70-х годов многие индийские газеты отводили место обсуждению вопроса: жив ли С. Ч. Бос, а если жив, то где он находится? Создавались специальные комиссии для выяснения обстоятельств его гибели. Газета «Индиян экспресс» от 24 января 1979 г. даже опубликовала не очень ясную фотографию Боса, якобы сделанную около года назад в одном из храмов. В 83-ю годовщину со дня рождения Боса (1979) в Западной Бенгалии проводились массовые митинги, на которых говорилось об огромном вкладе Нетаджи (вождя. — Т. Д.) в борьбу за освобождение Индии от колониализма<sup>4</sup>. И хотя его имя использовалось в борьбе различных политических сил в тогдашней Бенгалии, сам этот факт способствовал росту интереса к личности Боса, сложным и противоречивым событиям, предшествовавшим обретению Индией свободы.

Характеризуя Боса, индийский историк П. Д. Каушик рассматривает его прежде всего как рационалиста, которым он был «в начале, в конце своей деятельности и всегда»<sup>5</sup>.

Политический деятель независимой Индии и историк Хирен Мукерджи, отдавая дань беззаветной преданности Боса делу борьбы индийского народа за свое освобождение, осуждал его за обращение к фашистской Германии, а его теоретические рассуждения по этому поводу считал «не только неверными, но и опасными»<sup>6</sup>. Разбирая противоречивые взгляды Боса, он пришел к выводу, что его «трудно безоговорочно причислить к левым так же, как и к правым»<sup>7</sup>.

Советский исследователь О. В. Мартышин считал С. Ч. Боса «мелкобуржуазным радикалом»<sup>8</sup>. Вместе с тем он же подчеркивал, что Бос был «убежденным в необходимости изменения реформистской политики Конгресса и широкого привлечения народных масс к движению». Автор видел и отрицательные стороны как идеологии, так и деятельности Боса. Он соглашается с Бьянкой Шор (ГДР), которая обращает внимание на то, что Бос «был склонен к авторитарности, честолюбию, отличался большим самомнением, что националистический элемент у



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него явно преобладал над социалистическим... Он не был демократом»<sup>9</sup>.

Ф. Н. Нилов видел в нем «руководителя, пользовавшегося громадной популярностью в средних слоях города, особенно Калькутты. О его влиянии в кругах интеллигенции можно судить, например, по реакции Рабиндраната Тагора на отставку С. Ч. Боса с поста президента ИНК. Р. Тагор направил ему послание, в котором выразил свое сочувствие: «Достоинство и терпение, которое Вы проявили в сложнейшей ситуации, вызвали мое восхищение и уверенность в правильности Вашего руководства. С таким же совершенным достоинством должна держаться Бенгалия во имя самоуважения, чтобы Ваше кажущееся, временное поражение превратилось в постоянную победу»<sup>10</sup>.

Г. Г. Котовский в книге, опубликованной в 1973 г., писал: «С. Ч. Бос, разуверившись в возможности свержения английского господства в Индии только внутренними силами индийской революции и считавший, что окончательный военный разгром Англии — дело недалекого будущего, сделал ставку на фашистскую Германию и ее союзников... Бос наивно поверил в то, что военные противники Англии принесут на своих штыках в Индию избавление от иностранного гнета»<sup>11</sup>.

Поскольку интерес к личности С. Ч. Боса, его роли в антиимпериалистической борьбе не ослабевал, появлялись новые исследования, публикации документов и материалов, возникает необходимость более обстоятельно рассмотреть эту проблему.

В советской историографии нет специальных исследований, посвященных С. Ч. Босу. Хотя в общих работах, анализирующих разнообразные проблемы истории и идеологии освободительного движения, отводилось определенное место деятельности С. Ч. Боса, являвшегося одним из ярких руководителей радикального крыла Индийского национального конгресса, но оказавшегося вне главного потока освободительного движения на последнем этапе борьбы.

Данная статья не претендует на всестороннее исследование сложного комплекса проблем, связанных с политической деятельностью и идеологическими взглядами С. Ч. Боса. В ней лишь делается попытка дать характеристику некоторых сторон его мировоззрения, являющихся наиболее важными для понимания процесса развития антиимпериалистического движения в Индии.

Формирование политических взглядов Боса происходило в условиях развертывания национально-освободительной борьбы в Индии со всей ее сложностью и спецификой. Особые обстоятельства складывались в начале XX в. в Бенгалии — на родине С. Ч. Боса. Там раньше, чем в других областях Индии, начался процесс национального формирования. Более раннее развитие капитализма в Бенгалии сказалось и на более быстром росте

новой, буржуазной идеологии и на развитии освободительного движения. Одной из особенностей Бенгалии была ее экономическая концентрация вокруг Калькутты — экономического центра, средоточия торговли и промышленности, транспортного узла и морского порта<sup>12</sup>.

Идейная и политическая жизнь Бенгалии того времени была весьма многообразна и активна. Крупные философы-реформаторы, идеологи национально-освободительного движения, писатели, художники пронизывали свою деятельность антибританским, антиколониальным духом. Молодежь средних слоев и выходцев из индийской духовной элиты создавала подпольные революционные организации, мало связанные с массами, училась владеть оружием и изготавливать его. Некоторая ее часть осуществляла террористические акты против ненавистных чиновников английской колониальной администрации. Следует вспомнить, что колониальные власти в Индии запрещали местному населению использование оружия даже в качестве защиты от диких животных. Поэтому изготовление самодельных бомб и других видов оружия само по себе было выражением сопротивления властям. В своих мечтах многие участники тайных кружков видели вооруженное восстание кучки смельчаков, за которыми стихийно поднимается весь народ. Некоторые организации уже тогда пытались устанавливать связи с более широким кругом людей, а также вели пропагандистскую работу в армии. Вместе с тем они осознавали всеосильность вооруженных по последнему слову тогдашней техники англичан, и многие из них искали поддержки извне, у европейских соперников Англии прежде всего. Это обстоятельство особенно важно для понимания процесса формирования мировоззрения Боса. В духе революционного национализма воспитывалась значительная часть индийских патриотов на протяжении десятилетий. В первой четверти XX в. в Индии значительный размах получило рабочее движение, появились марксистские кружки, обсуждались идеи социализма. С. Ч. Бос был одним из ярких представителей националистов, для которого исходным идеологическим материалом были традиции индийских идеологов, таких, как Свами Вивекананда и Ауробиндо Гхош, а также индийских национальных революционеров с их крайностями в политической борьбе, непоследовательностью, горячим нетерпением и недооценкой кропотливой работы в массах.

\* \* \*

С. Ч. Бос родился 23 января 1897 г. в Каттаке — центре Ориссы, которая тогда административно включена была в Бенгальскую провинцию, в семье бенгальского адвоката. В 15 лет он уже был знаком с идеями Вивекананды. В 1913 г. С. Ч. Бос поступил в Калькуттский университет и примкнул к студенческому кружку, где горячо обсуждались произведения



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Ауробиндо Гхоша и проблемы борьбы против английского за-  
силья. Известно, что в идеологии последнего в тот период  
важное место занимала идея вооруженного восстания.

В период бурного подъема антиимпериалистической борь-  
бы в Индии в 1919 г. по настоянию родственников он отпра-  
вился в Англию для подготовки и сдачи экзаменов и получе-  
ния должности в индийской гражданской службе. Тогда ярко  
проявилась незаурядность личности Боса. Блестяще сдав экза-  
мены, он, вопреки уговорам родственников, отказался от ра-  
боты на английскую администрацию и решил всецело посвя-  
тить свою жизнь борьбе за свободу Индии. Его идейные сим-  
патии в то время имели тенденцию к радикализму, свойст-  
венному нелегальным группам в Бенгалии, с которыми он был  
связан, а также крайним течениям в ИНК. В 1921 г., когда  
Субхас возвратился в Индию, М. К. Ганди сделался ведущей  
фигурой освободительного движения, а его теория ненасилия  
приобрела огромную популярность. Однако в Конгрессе и тогда  
были противники Ганди. К ним прежде всего относился  
Ч. Р. Дас, идейные взгляды которого не укладывались в рам-  
ки ненасилия. Бос стал верным последователем Ч. Р. Даса.  
Он всегда считал его своим гуру, но в развитии мировоззре-  
ния Боса, главным образом политических взглядов, было  
много специфического, хотя так же, как и у Ч. Р. Даса, в них  
можно увидеть революционно-демократические черты.

На теоретические искания Ч. Р. Даса воздействовали и ре-  
волюционно-демократические настроения, охватившие после  
Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции передовые  
умы стран Востока. Он обращал особое внимание на борьбу за  
интересы народных масс, призывал к привлечению рабочих,  
крестьян, средних слоев в национально-освободительное дви-  
жение. Однако идеи Ч. Р. Даса носили часто абстрактный ха-  
рактер. Сколько-нибудь развернутой конкретной социальной  
программы он не выдвигал. Его идейные симпатии, по суще-  
ству, сводились к мелкобуржуазному демократизму, отстаивав-  
шему незыблемость частной собственности<sup>13</sup> и допускавшему  
возможность предотвращения классовых столкновений. Такой  
подход к решению социальных проблем в ходе национально-  
освободительных революций является закономерным, ибо, как  
отмечал В. И. Ленин, «всякое национальное движение может  
быть лишь буржуазно-демократическим, ибо главная масса  
населения в отсталых странах состоит из крестьянства, являю-  
щегося представителем буржуазно-капиталистических отно-  
шений»<sup>14</sup>.

Для социальных воззрений Боса в 20-е годы была харак-  
терна некоторая абстрактность и их второстепенность. Нацио-  
низм угнетенной нации был главной линией его размышле-  
ний, мечтаний и действий. Это было присуще большинству ра-  
дикальных деятелей ИНК. С конца 20-х и в 30-е годы социаль-  
ные проблемы приобретали для них все более важное значение.

Бос участвует в это время в профсоюзном движении, вы-  
ступая защитником требований рабочих в двусторонних спорах.  
Иногда ему удавалось урегулировать конфликты рабочих с  
предпринимателями и отстоять требования первых<sup>15</sup>. Бос  
поддерживал социальные идеи, позже, на сессии ИНК в Ка-  
рачи в 1931 г., одобренные в специальной резолюции об обе-  
спечении интересов рабочих, об изменении системы землевла-  
дения, снижении сельскохозяйственной ренты.

В декларации прав, также принятой на этой сессии, говори-  
лось о равенстве перед законом всех людей независимо от ка-  
сты, веры и пола. Еще до этой сессии между Босом и Ганди  
резко обострились идейные разногласия. Бос требовал решительных действий, направленных на достижение полной неза-  
висимости любыми средствами, включая насильственные столк-  
новения. Идея военизации освободительного движения посте-  
пенно укреплялась, и он пытался как-то воплотить ее в прак-  
тику еще в 1928 г., когда вместе с Дж. Неру они сделались  
«идолами молодежи», готовой пойти за ними на любые дей-  
ствия. Бос руководил корпусом волонтеров, обеспечивавшим  
проведение сессии ИНК в Калькутте, и проявил блестящие  
способности организатора. С военной четкостью он провел мас-  
совые шествия, торжественные встречи делегатов, и особенно  
пышно была организована встреча президента ИНК Моти-  
лала Неру. Бос добился обеспечения специальной формы для  
волонтеров, требовал их беспрекословного подчинения.

На этой же сессии он решительно выступал за включение  
в программу деятельности Конгресса требования борьбы за  
достижение полной независимости. Но правые силы упорно от-  
стаивали формулу «статуса доминиона». Компромиссная так-  
тика М. К. Ганди и его последователей усугубляла идейные  
расхождения между Босом и Ганди. Как ни популярен был пер-  
вый среди молодежи, его влияние в народе и среди конгрес-  
систов не шло ни в какое сравнение с авторитетом и влиянием  
Ганди, который предпринял ряд организационных мер, в ре-  
зультате которых Бос не был введен в состав Рабочего коми-  
тета Конгресса в 1930 г.

В январе 1930 г. англо-индийские власти арестовали Боса.  
После освобождения он снова был арестован за участие в анти-  
правительственной демонстрации. Был освобожден по общей  
амнистии и в 1932 г. вновь арестован. В тюрьме он заболел  
и по просьбе родственников и влиятельных друзей добился  
разрешения выехать в Европу на лечение. Таким образом,  
он стал изгнанником.

Пребывание в Европе, знакомство с социально-политическими  
процессами, происходившими там, воздействовали на не-  
устойчивую, в значительной мере мелкобуржуазную психоло-  
гию Боса. Он видел прежде всего внешнюю сторону явлений,  
в частности становление фашистского режима в Германии, воен-  
низированные марши нацистских молодчиков, кажущийся по-



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рядок. Его подкупало то обстоятельство, что Германия не имела колоний, как Англия, которая эксплуатировала сотни миллионов людей. Агрессивность фашизма, его стремление к мировому господству, «порядок», явившийся результатом зверских расправ со всеми социально-политическими силами, не идущими в фарватере нацизма, ярый антикоммунизм — все это Бос или не видел, или не считал важным в силу специфики своего мирозерцания.

Пожалуй, именно в этот период у него складывалась идея о преимуществах диктатуры партии перед парламентской демократией. В это время он писал книгу «Индийская борьба. 1920—34 гг.», изданную в 1935 г. в Лондоне<sup>16</sup>. В ней значительное место уделено социальным проблемам. Анализируя идеологию левого крыла Конгресса, к которому он причислял себя, он писал: «Левые придерживались радикальных взглядов по социально-экономическим вопросам, т. е. по вопросам отношений к властям, противоречий между помещиками и крестьянами, а также между трудом и капиталом»<sup>17</sup>.

К этим вопросам он неоднократно возвращался и в последующие годы, когда вернулся в Индию. Свои взгляды Бос называл социалистическими. На трактовку этого понятия имели определенное влияние западные течения социализма. Социальные взгляды Боса наиболее четко отразились в его речи на съезде ИНК в Харипуре в 1938 г., когда он после нескольких лет изгнания был избран на пост председателя партии.

В Индийском национальном конгрессе в конце 30-х годов шла напряженная борьба по различным вопросам: об отношении к растущему рабочему и крестьянскому движению, о задачах и характере деятельности конгрессистских правительств в провинциях, где они в результате выборов в 1937 г. пришли к власти и др. Сформирование конгрессистских министерств не принесло ни ожидаемого избирателями «золотого века», ни популярности самим правительствам, которые не смогли осуществить свои предвыборные обещания. «Заминдары сохраняли все свои прежние владения, полиция продолжала свирепствовать, положение политических заключенных оставалось тяжелым. Освобождение борцов за свободу из тюрем осуществить было нельзя, на требования провинциальных правительств накладывал вето губернатор»<sup>18</sup>. Ширились крестьянские выступления. Проходили многочисленные походы крестьянских организаций по деревням с требованиями проведения аграрных преобразований, обещанных Конгрессом. Деятельность «Кисан сабхи» (Крестьянского союза) в этот период в некоторых местах приобретала антиконгрессистский характер, марши крестьян проводились под красными коммунистическими стягами. Трехцветный конгрессистский флаг отвергался ими. Возникли конфликты между конгрессистами и крестьянскими организациями<sup>19</sup>. Даже неоднократные призывы такого популярного лидера, как Дж. Неру, не остановили разногласий<sup>20</sup>.

По мнению сторонников ненасилия, сложившиеся обстоятельства «символизировали противоборство между социализмом и гандизмом»<sup>21</sup>. При этом социализм, которому тогда симпатизировала значительная часть конгрессистов левого направления, трактовался весьма своеобразно, как доведенное до предела буржуазное толкование понятия «равенство», как нечто противоположное империализму, и прежде всего английскому его варианту. Но конгрессисты опасались, что рабочие и крестьянские выступления несут в себе не такого рода социалистические устремления, а коммунистические, связанные с пересмотром вопросов собственности<sup>22</sup>. Поэтому вопрос о кандидатуре на пост президента Конгресса на очередной срок вызвал серьезные дебаты. Большинство провинциальных комитетов Конгресса высказались за представителя радикального крыла, овеванного ореолом страдальца С. Ч. Боса, имевшего давние связи с руководителями крестьянского движения и с профсоюзным руководством. Предложения были одобрены Ганди.

Бос, обладавший огромными организаторскими способностями, в короткий срок привлек большие средства промышленников и князей и осуществил проведение пышных церемоний при открытии сессии, выделяя личность председателя и этим символизируя придание ему неограниченных полномочий. В своей речи он подтвердил основные программные положения ИНК, сложившиеся к этому времени, в том числе даже гандистский принцип ненасилия как одно из средств достижения независимости. Тем не менее его речь содержала разнообразные идеи, выходящие далеко за гандистские рамки.

В историческом экскурсе он говорил о подъемах и падениях мировых империй, о неизбежности этого процесса, который проходил, как известно, отнюдь не без насилия. В частности, отметил, что «царская империя в России разрушена в 1917 г., и на ее развалинах возник Союз Советских Социалистических республик», теперь наступило время краха Британской империи. Но «такая трансформация, — отмечал он, — возможна лишь при условии, если народ Британии станет свободным в своем собственном доме — если Великобритания станет социалистическим государством»<sup>23</sup>.

В последнем тезисе явно просматривается влияние взглядов М. Н. Роя, который отстаивал положение о том, что для освобождения Индии необходима революция в Англии.

Но Бос не считал этот путь единственным. Пассивное ожидание краха Британской империи не соответствовало его нетерпеливым политическим устремлениям. Он призывал к немедленным и активным действиям на основе создания широкого антиимпериалистического фронта для достижения политической свободы и установления социалистического режима (именно эти термины он употреблял).

В противовес Ганди он настойчиво выдвигал идею индустриа-



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лизации и государственного планирования. При этом он исходил из того, что Индия находилась на доиндустриальной стадии развития.

Индустриальная эпоха наступит и в Индии, ее избежать нельзя. «Промышленная революция, — говорил он, — может протекать сравнительно медленно, как в Англии, а может осуществляться и форсированным маршем, как в Советской России»<sup>24</sup>. Выступая в августе 1938 г. на заседании Ассоциации индийских ученых, Бос развернул целую программу национального планирования промышленного развития, которое станет основой прогрессивного устройства Индии после завоевания свободы.

«Хотя, — говорил Бос, — развитие промышленности является единым процессом во всем мире, мы тем не менее должны быть нацелены на национальную автономию, особенно в сфере наших принципиальных нужд и потребностей. Мы должны придерживаться политики содействия росту и развитию отечественной индустрии, т. е. развитию энергетики, производству металла, машин и орудий производства, химикатов, развитию транспорта, связи и т. д.»<sup>25</sup>.

Большое внимание он уделял проблеме подготовки технических кадров и технического образования, для чего необходимо, по его мнению, использовать разнообразные формы и обязательно посылать часть студентов за границу для постижения ими научных открытий. Тогда же он ставил вопрос о необходимости создания Совета по национальным исследованиям.

Планирование он рассматривал как широкую программу деятельности, основанную на серьезном изучении современного мирового индустриального развития, а также того уровня развития, которого к тому времени достигла Индия. Примечательно, что, рассматривая проблему планирования и индустриализации Индии, Бос как бы оставлял в стороне сельское хозяйство — отрасль, в которой занято тогда было подавляющее большинство индийского народа. Он исходил из того, что сама по себе индустриализация соответствующим образом изменит и характер сельского хозяйства. Бос связывал развитие промышленности с необходимостью повышения уровня жизни народа<sup>26</sup>. Проблемы изменения характера собственности на средства производства им не ставились. Частная собственность оставалась неизменным ингредиентом будущего индустриального развития индийского общества.

Индийская националистическая пресса, финансируемая индийской буржуазией, активно поддерживала планы индустриализации Индии<sup>27</sup>. Объективно Бос выражал интересы растущей индийской буржуазии, хотя социальные взгляды Боса в целом носили мелкобуржуазный характер. Идеология Боса отражала в основном чаяния мелкой буржуазии города и части средних слоев, испытывавших гнет как колонизаторов, так и высших слоев индийского общества.

Наиболее болезненно переносили социальную приниженность (горизонтального и вертикального порядка) расширяющиеся круги индийской интеллигенции. Стремление изменить социальный статус проявлялось в разнохарактерных видах протеста — от участия в мирных демонстрациях до крайне радикальных выступлений и террористических актов.

«...Мелкая буржуазия, — по словам В. И. Ленина, — ни на какую самостоятельную позицию в коренных битвах неспособна»<sup>28</sup>. Она вынашивает самые разнообразные планы, один иллюзорнее другого, постоянно колеблется, проявляет интерес к утопическим идеям и разного толка социалистическим учениям. В. И. Ленин неоднократно обращал внимание на то, что «социалистические мечтания превратились в социалистическую борьбу миллионов людей только тогда, когда научный социализм Маркса связал преобразовательные стремления с борьбой определенного класса. Вне классовой борьбы социализм есть пустая фраза или наивное мечтание»<sup>29</sup>.

Идеи социализма, высказываемые Босом, не облекались в конкретную и четкую программу. Они были утопической мечтой и своеобразной подпоркой для надежд на обретение Индией независимости от капиталистической Англии, а в определенной мере и данью передовым идеям.

«Социализм стал современной философией жизни, — говорил С. Ч. Бос в одной из речей в 1938 г. — Век индивидуализма, результатом которого является капитализм, окончен. Я вижу в социализме благо для человечества. Когда я говорю благо, я имею в виду принцип. Осуществление его в Индии будет зависеть от истории, психологии людей и других факторов. Однако в свободной Индии реконструкция должна проходить по социалистической линии»<sup>30</sup>. В идейных дискуссиях с Ганди он иногда ссылаясь на опыт Советского Союза: «Экономические условия России, которая была отсталой страной в промышленном отношении, коренным образом изменились в течение 15 лет»<sup>31</sup>. Бос считал, что Индия может достигнуть того же даже быстрее и нет необходимости тратить усилия на возрождение ручного прядения и ткачества, на чем настаивал Ганди. Сущность преобразований в Советском Союзе он видел лишь в быстрой индустриализации и планировании экономики. Что это было возможно на базе экспроприации частной собственности на средства производства и других социально-экономических мер, Бос не видел и не хотел видеть. Ганди считал, что в специфических условиях Индии, сложившихся к рассматриваемому периоду, никакая другая экономическая программа (кроме возрождения ручного ткачества и прядения) не обеспечит свараджа для миллионов голодных и нищих, а также для миллионов неграмотных женщин»<sup>32</sup>.

Бос не отвергал некоторого значения мелкой промышленности, но главный упор делал на необходимость быстрой индустриализации страны и государственного планирования. По су-



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ществу, все рассуждения Боса о социализме сводились к буржуазным принципам развития общества, ибо и индустриализация и планирование, действующие в форме государственного сектора в смешанной экономике, вполне вписываются в капиталистическую систему.

Отбрасывая научное толкование социализма в целом, Бос воспринимал отдельные его стороны, наиболее соответствующие его эклектическому мировоззрению. Данное обстоятельство в значительной степени объясняет его теоретические манипуляции относительно сопряженности социализма и национал-социализма, поиски путей к синтезу двух абсолютно противоположных социально-политических систем.

Идея синтеза претерпевала у него определенную трансформацию. Первоначально она была сформулирована в книге «Индийская борьба. 1920—1934». Несколько позже, когда нацистская Германия начала вторую мировую войну, Бос изменил свое отношение к фашизму. В одной из речей он в оправдание своей старой позиции говорил: «Я должен обратить внимание на то, что, когда я писал книгу, фашизм еще не начал свои империалистические захваты и он представлялся мне просто агрессивной формой национализма. Я отмечал также... что коммунизм мне казался антинациональным, и это впечатление усиливалось враждебным отношением поборников коммунизма к Индийскому национальному конгрессу. Однако ясно, что положение теперь изменилось... Я теперь понял и приветствую коммунизм, изложенный в работах Маркса и Ленина, а также в официальных заявлениях Коминтерна, оказывающих полную поддержку борьбе за национальную независимость»<sup>33</sup>.

Вместе с тем в его выступлениях и статьях конца 30-х годов сравнение элементов социализма и нацизма так или иначе имело место. В рассуждениях о преимуществе однопартийной системы он ссылается на «пример Советской России, нацистской партии в Германии, фашистской партии в Италии и кемалистской партии в Турции»<sup>34</sup>.

Отношение Боса к нацизму фокусирует в себе сложный и противоречивый процесс идейного развития его взглядов и ставит в тупик многих исследователей.

Каким образом человек, посвятивший жизнь национальному освобождению своего народа, боровшийся против империализма, стоявший в ряду радикальных лидеров Конгресса, в течение многих лет сотрудничавший с такими политическими деятелями, как Дж. Неру, который отвергал нацизм с самого начала его появления, не смог понять агрессивной, человеконенавистнической сущности фашизма, его стремления к порабощению других народов? Как он смог после политических неудач в Индии искать в фашистской Германии помощь?

Сон попытке объяснить это не только сугубо личными качествами Боса, его склонностью к авантюризму, честолюбию, неординарными организационными способностями и т. п. необхо-

димо остановиться на обстановке, сложившейся в Индии в конце 30-х — начале 40-х годов.

В самом начале 1939 г. в руководящих кругах Конгресса решался вопрос о выборе нового председателя ИНК. С. Ч. Бос был выдвинут ближайшими его сподвижниками в качестве кандидата на этот пост на второй срок. Однако на этот раз предложение не было поддержано значительной частью конгрессистов, и в том числе М. К. Ганди. Они считали, что призывы Боса к решительной борьбе и предъявлению ультиматумов Англии несвоевременны. После длительных переговоров была выдвинута вторая кандидатура — П. Ситарамайи. В результате голосования С. Ч. Бос получил большинство и остался председателем Конгресса на второй срок.

Дж. Неру в это время уже вернулся из Европы. Он был членом Рабочего комитета ИНК и не поддерживал нетерпеливой тактики Боса. Опасаясь раскола Конгресса в ответственный момент, он выразил сомнение относительно целесообразности избрания Боса на пост председателя<sup>35</sup>. Положение последнего осложнилось тем, что в результате горячих споров 12 членов Рабочего комитета ИНК из 15 объявили о выходе из его состава в связи с несогласием с позицией председателя. Подал заявление и Дж. Неру, отметив, что между ним и «группой 12» (куда входили С. Патель, Р. Прасад и др.) имеются серьезные разногласия. Председатель Конгресса в это время тяжело заболел. Он предпринимал некоторые меры к восстановлению статуса-кво, отказавшись принять отставку членов Рабочего комитета, и через посредство членов Организационного комитета осуществлял подготовку к проведению съезда ИНК. Несмотря на все трудности, необходимые меры были приняты и съезд в Трипуре открылся в марте 1939 г.

Как уже отмечалось, Бос был склонен к пышным церемониям и военизированным парадам при проведении конгрессовских мероприятий. Для торжественной процессии в честь председателя съезда из соседних княжеств в Трипуру пригнали слонов — ровно столько, сколько лет насчитывалось Конгрессу. Отдельный лагерь был разбит для председателя. А в помещениях, где разместились делегаты, велись ожесточенные дебаты. Члены Рабочего комитета, подавшие в отставку, отказывались принять участие в работе; другого состава Рабочего комитета создать не удавалось.

В таких обстоятельствах Бос произнес на открытии съезда свою краткую речь с изложением программы действий, которая не получила поддержки большинства делегатов. Резолюция, предложенная его противниками, была одобрена, и Бос вынужден был подать в отставку. Вскоре после этого Бос выступил с акциями, нарушавшими решения Всендийского комитета конгресса, и против него были приняты дисциплинарные меры. Ему было запрещено занимать в течение трех лет руководящие посты в Конгрессе, что, по существу, означало исключение его из



ИНК. После этого он сразу объявил об организации новой партии — «Форвард блок», которая, по выражению Дж. Неру, «должна была противопоставить себя Конгрессу». Неру писал: «Блок, как и следовало ожидать, вскоре распался, однако он усилил раскольнические тенденции и привел к еще большему ухудшению общего положения. Прикрываясь красивыми словами, авантюристические и оппортунистические элементы начали выдвигать свои платформы, и это невольно напомнило мне те методы, при помощи которых нацистская партия пришла к власти в Германии. Сначала они добились массовой поддержки выдвинутой ими программы, а затем использовали эту поддержку для достижения совершенно другой цели»<sup>36</sup>.

«Форвард блок» как общендийская партия просуществовала недолго, ядро ее сохранялось лишь в Бенгалии, и она фактически превратилась в провинциальную партию.

С началом второй мировой войны положение в националистических кругах Индии еще больше обострилось. Возник сложный вопрос об отношении к войне, к Англии. Нерешительность и сомнения терзали видных лидеров ИНК. Даже Дж. Неру был в нерешительности. Определенность была у Ганди, который, исходя из своей теории ненасилия, говорил, что конгрессисты не должны ставить своей целью создать трудности противнику в тяжелый для него час<sup>37</sup>. Но обстоятельства требовали принятия решительных мер. Подавляющая часть активных участников антиколониального движения, пользуясь в основном материалами западной англоязычной прессы, затруднялась в оценке политических процессов, проходивших в мире. «В ходе войны, — писал Неру, — возникли новые проблемы, старые проблемы меняли свою форму. Казалось, что изменилась прежняя расстановка сил и исчезли старые критерии. Произошло много неожиданных событий, и трудно было приспособиться к ним»<sup>38</sup>. Продолжая эту мысль, Неру упоминал «русско-германский пакт», «дружественные жесты России по отношению к Японии», поражение Норвегии, Голландии, Бельгии, падение Парижа. Все это не укладывалось в привычные для многих конгрессистов взгляды и стереотипы мышления. В это время в Индии ширилось крестьянское и профсоюзное движение, министры-конгрессисты вышли из правительств провинций, действие конституции было приостановлено и начались массовые репрессии. В июле 1940 г. Бос был арестован. В тюрьме он объявил голодовку и по болезни был выпущен под надзор полиции. После некоторого периода пребывания дома Бос, отчаявшись, решил искать поддержки своего варианта освобождения Индии в других странах, в том числе и у врагов Англии. Эта старая идея, владевшая умами индийских революционеров еще в период первой мировой войны, приобретала в изменившихся условиях злое значение, смысл, которого, ослепленный неудачами и безудержным национализмом, Бос не сумел понять или не смог воспринять в силу специфики своего мировоззрения.

Он решил с помощью своих друзей бежать из Индии. Связался с некоторыми подпольными группами в Пенджабе и пограничных провинциях, поддерживавшими определенные связи с эмигрантскими кругами в Кабуле. По-видимому, Бос получил финансовую поддержку от родственников и состоятельных друзей. Первоначально он предполагал отправиться в Советский Союз как страну антиимпериалистическую и всегда поддерживавшую антиколониальные движения. По свидетельству Тальвара, перед отъездом Бос советовался с Рабиндранатом Тагором, Джайпракаш Нарайяном, Л. Шанкаралалом и некоторыми другими и получил их одобрение<sup>39</sup>.

Весь процесс подготовки и организации побега через пограничные провинции и Кабул подробно описан проводником Боса Бхагат Рам Тальваром, который был тогда членом пенджабской «Кирти ксан парти», ставшей впоследствии частью КПИ<sup>40</sup>. В январе 1941 г. Бос перешел границу в районе территории пограничных племен и прибыл в Кабул, где пытался связаться с советским посольством и получить визу на въезд в Советский Союз, но попытки оказались неудачными. Тогда Бос решил обратиться в дипломатическую миссию Германии, находившейся в состоянии войны с Англией, поскольку между СССР и Германией в это время существовал пакт о ненападении. По этим дипломатическим каналам он пытался получить транзитную визу через СССР в Берлин или Рим. Не дождавшись таковой, Бос решил пробиваться через границу собственными силами. Итальянские представители в Кабуле оказывали ему всевозможную помощь, но предупреждали, что это предприятие весьма рискованное и носит авантюрный характер<sup>41</sup>. Но оставаться дольше в Кабуле было опасно, он ежедневно ждал ареста. Боса скрывали бывшие члены различных групп индийцев, подвергавшихся репрессиям английских властей и проживавших в Кабуле. Среди них упоминаются бывшие гадровцы, участники Пешаварского восстания 30-х годов.

В последний момент была получена транзитная виза и паспорт на имя Орландо Мазотти, и ему удалось добраться до Берлина<sup>42</sup>. У фашистских главарей были далеко идущие планы в отношении Индии, поэтому они благосклонно отнеслись к приезде Боса в Германию.

Прибыв в Берлин, последний добился разрешения на специальную радиопередачу без цензуры на Индию («Азад хинд радио»). В речах по радио он обращался к соотечественникам с призывами к антианглийской борьбе с помощью врагов Англии. Эти призывы доходили до какой-то части индийцев и даже вызвали понимание, поскольку в общественном мнении Индии среди множества различных направлений были и прояпонские настроения<sup>43</sup>.

В одном из выступлений Бос заявил, что он покинул Индию для того, чтобы установить прямые контакты с врагами британского империализма, и поэтому связал борьбу Индии за свободу



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с борьбой держав оси против старого врага — Британии<sup>44</sup>. Хотя Бос и не был дальновидным политиком, тем не менее он вполне отчетливо усматривал противоречия между Германией и Японией в отношении Индии, из которых можно извлечь определенные выгоды для Индии. Кроме того, Бос верил в прочность пакта о ненападении между СССР и Германией. Он заявил представителям нацистских властей вскоре после прибытия в Берлин о том, что «для ликвидации британского влияния в колониальных странах Востока необходимо поддерживать статус-кво между Германией и Советским Союзом»<sup>45</sup>, наивно полагая, что его заявление имеет какое-нибудь значение для нацистских властей. Очень скоро он убедился в тщетности своих надежд, когда фашистская Германия, попирая все нормы международного права, нарушила договор с СССР и вторглась в пределы Советского Союза.

Это поколебало планы Боса, он начинал понимать истинное лицо фашизма. Занимаясь формированием воинских подразделений из пленных индийцев и эмигрантов, он предполагал использовать их против английских войск и воспротивился попыткам нацистов направить их на Восточный фронт<sup>46</sup>. Он заявил, что солдаты Индийского легиона будут «бороться только против Британии, но никогда против Советского Союза»<sup>47</sup>.

Гаутам Чаттопадхьяя, ссылаясь на данные немецких архивов, писал о том, что 10 индийских солдат Индийского легиона, повинувшись приказу своего командира, отказались идти на Восточный фронт, за что были преданы фашистами суду военного трибунала<sup>48</sup>.

События 1942—1943 гг. на фронтах второй мировой войны показали, что нацизм не так силен, как предполагал Бос. Сталинградская битва сильно поколебала престиж немецкой армии. Положение индийских подразделений, действующих в Алжире, усложнялось. Никто из союзников Германии не хотел финансировать индийские воинские части. Но вскоре судьба Боса резко изменилась. События в Юго-Восточной Азии приняли такой оборот, что появилась возможность осуществить давние мечты о создании индийской армии, и он стал ориентироваться на помощь Японии, успешно воевавшей с Англией.

Идеи вооруженного свержения колониальных властей были главной и ведущей частью политических взглядов Боса. Осуществление этих идей в Индии было весьма затруднительно. В национально-освободительном движении огромную роль играл М. К. Ганди с его теорией ненасилия, удивительной харизмой и способностью проникать в души людей. Дж. Неру писал: «Может быть, в любой другой стране он был бы сейчас не на месте, но Индия, видимо, все еще понимает или, по крайней мере, ценит людей пророчески-религиозного склада, говорящих о грехе насилия и ненасилии»<sup>49</sup>. «Индия, даже городская Индия, даже новая промышленная Индия имеет крестьянский отпечаток, и с ее стороны было вполне естественно сделать этого свое-

го сына, столь похожего и в то же время столь непохожего на нее, кумиром и обожаемым вождем»<sup>50</sup>.

За спиной Ганди стояли огромные массы людей и ведущие социальные силы. Но со временем его позиции ослабли, и все большее число участников освободительной борьбы считали теорию ненасилия в тогдашних условиях бесперспективной. В конце 1942 г. театр военных действий приблизился к границам Индии. Японская армия наносила серьезные удары армиям союзников на Тихом океане. Английская колониальная империя начала разваливаться. Поражение английских властей в Бирме и Малайе произвело сильное впечатление в Индии. Огромные массы индийцев-беженцев устремились на родину. Вопрос о военной защите своей страны встал в порядок дня. В самой Индии назревали революционные события. Английская администрация не казалась уже несокрушимой. После долгих колебаний руководство ИНК возглавило движение «Вон из Индии!», которое поддерживал и Ганди. Бос считал, что удары изнутри, поддержанные военными акциями извне, могут сломить британское господство в Индии.

В это время в Юго-Восточной Азии из пленных индийцев формировалась Индийская национальная армия. Ее руководство пригласило Боса приехать и возглавить эту армию. Активное в этом участие принимал проживавший в Сингапуре видный революционный деятель Индии, осужденный колониальными властями за участие в террористической деятельности, Раш Бехари Бос<sup>51</sup>.

В феврале 1943 г. С. Ч. Бос отправился туда на немецком военном судне, шедшем Атлантическим океаном, затем на юге Африки он пересел на японскую подводную лодку, доставившую его на Суматру, а оттуда самолетом в Токио (13 июня 1943 г.). Идея о создании Индийской национальной армии в Юго-Восточной Азии возникла в декабре 1941 г., когда небольшая часть офицеров англо-индийской армии, попавших в плен к японцам, решила объединиться для борьбы против англичан с группой индийских деятелей, проживавших на Суматре. Капитан одного из бывших пенджабских полков Мохан Сингх начал переговоры с представителями японского командования, поддержавшего эту идею.

В июне 1942 г. на конференции в Бангкоке был сформирован Совет действий, председателем которого стал Раш Бехари Бос.

На этой конференции было официально заявлено, что Индийская национальная армия будет формироваться и находиться под командованием индийцев и что сразу же после освобождения Индии правительство Японии признает территориальную целостность и полную суверенность Индии, свободной от любого иностранного влияния, контроля, а также политического, экономического или военного вмешательства<sup>52</sup>. Надеяться на выполнение подобного заявления было явной утопией. И это сразу обнаружилось, ибо японское командование никаких официаль-



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ных обещаний по поводу статуса Индийской национальной армии и будущих отношений с Индией не давало, но оно не могло справиться с огромным числом военнопленных и, желая использовать их в своих интересах в войне с английскими военными силами, согласилось на создание ИНА, которая начала формироваться после падения Рангуна и Сингапура, когда британское командование в панике бросило на произвол судьбы около 20 тыс. индийских солдат и офицеров. В этот период в Юго-Восточной Азии оказалось около 2 млн. индийцев, готовых идти на «тотальную войну» с английскими колонизаторами<sup>53</sup>.

В октябре 1943 г. в Сингапуре было объявлено о создании так называемого временного правительства свободной Индии во главе с С. Ч. Босом, которое должно было базироваться на Андаманских островах, захваченных японцами. Это «правительство» объявило о вступлении в войну с Британией и США<sup>54</sup>.

В Рангун Бос прибыл в начале 1944 г., и началось приближение ИНА к границе Индии вместе с японскими войсками.

18 марта 1944 г. Индийская национальная армия пересекла бирманскую границу и вступила на индийскую землю. Бос настаивал на том, чтобы бои на индийской земле против войск колонизаторов велись Индийской национальной армией. Но японское командование не пошло на это. В результате соглашения две армии действовали под общим японским командованием, но индийские части должны были иметь независимый сектор действий и осуществлять контроль над освобожденной индийской территорией<sup>55</sup>. Однако индийские подразделения действовали только как пехотные части. Авиацией и артиллерией они не располагали, а японские подразделения им не помогали. Несмотря на тяжелейшие условия, индийские части сражались мужественно. В битве за Кохиму и Имфал погибло много индийцев. Подробности этой битвы мало известны, но Бос, по-видимому, понял, что надеяться на японцев бессмысленно. Именно тогда Бос осознал, что освобождения родины можно добиться только путем борьбы внутри нее, а не военными операциями извне. Идея «враги Англии — наши друзья» потерпела полный крах. В одной из речей, произнесенных им по радио летом 1944 г., он заявил: «Если допустить, что англичане примут резолюцию „Вон из Индии!“ и начнут немедленные действия, я гарантирую, что ни один японский солдат не ступит на индийскую землю»<sup>56</sup>.

В это же время он обратился по радио лично к Ганди как к «отцу нации» и приветствовал борьбу, ведущуюся в рамках движения «Вон из Индии!»: «Нельзя ожидать большего счастья для нас самих, если наши соотечественники добьются освобождения родины своими собственными силами»<sup>57</sup>.

Истощенная болезнями, с большими потерями Индийская национальная армия отошла к Рангуну. 23 апреля 1945 г. Бос получил от японского командования официальный приказ покинуть Рангун. 16 августа Бос вылетел из Сингапура в Сайгон.

На следующий день японские власти предложили ему одно место в самолете. Он настаивал, чтобы еще один из его товарищей летел вместе с ним. Он не знал, куда летит самолет, ему намекали, что, возможно, он направится в Маньчжурию. Сопровождал Боса Хабибур Рахман, заместитель начальника главного штаба Индийской национальной армии. 17 августа 1945 г. самолет вылетел. Бос послал прощальные слова друзьям: «Джая Хинд! (Да здравствует Индия!) Я еще встречу с вами». 22 августа 1945 г. радио Токио сообщило, что Субхас Чандра Бос погиб в авиационной катастрофе на острове Тайвань. Самолет направлялся в Японию. Позже появились свидетельства о том, что Бос и Хабибур Рахман были тяжело ранены и привезены в японский госпиталь и что последними словами Боса были «Хабиб, пришел мой конец, я умираю за свободу моей страны. Иди и скажи моим соотечественникам, чтобы они продолжали бороться. Индия будет свободной, и скоро...»<sup>58</sup>. Это свидетельство вызвало сомнения, но никто не мог ни подтвердить его, ни опровергнуть. Даже урна с прахом, привезенная Хабибур Рахманом в один из токийских храмов, многими не была принята в качестве доказательства его смерти. Позже официально его родственники подтвердили свидетельство о гибели С. Ч. Боса. Однако это не сняло покров таинственности, связанный с именем этого крупного борца за освобождение Индии.

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Социально-политические взгляды Боса сочетали в себе самые разнообразные концепции. В некоторых аспектах их трактовки он подходил к марксизму, иногда он откровенно выражал чаяния индийской национальной буржуазии, но в своей основе они отражали колебания мелкой буржуазии. Эклектизм облекался у него в жесткую форму крайнего национализма, который был центром всех его устремлений и толкал его на острую грань политической эквилибристики. Основываясь на прогрессивной теории национализма угнетенной нации, Бос воспринял лишь одну ее сторону, превратив национализм в самоцель, для достижения которой дозволены любые средства. Идея независимости объективно суживалась.

Подобные позиции отчуждали его от тех путей, по которым шло основное русло национально-освободительного движения Индии.

Некоторые участники последнего считали возможным использовать в своей борьбе врагов Англии, рассчитывая на ее политическое ослабление в случае поражения в войне и, таким образом, приблизить освобождение Индии от оков колониализма. Но они не полагались только на это и не надеялись, что свобода Индии может быть принесена на штыках врагов Англии. Какая-то часть их допускала возможность сотрудничества с Германией и Японией, воевавшими с Англией. Касаясь периода



активных действий японских милитаристов в Юго-Восточной Азии, Дж. Неру отмечал: «Прояпонские настроения — в собственном смысле слова — практически отсутствовали, ибо никто не желал менять хозяев, прокитайские же настроения были сильны и широко распространены. Однако имелась небольшая группа людей, позиция которых была косвенно прояпонской — в том смысле, что они рассчитывали воспользоваться японским вторжением в интересах освобождения Индии. Они находились под впечатлением выступлений по радио Субхаса Чандры Боса»<sup>59</sup>.

Сомнения, осознание своей беспомощности широко были распространены в это время в руководящих кругах Индийского национального конгресса, а движение, нараставшее снизу, требовало действий. И Ганди, поняв это, выступил с рядом статей, в которых «заклучался... намек на необходимость действия»<sup>60</sup>. Развернувшееся движение «Вон из Индии!», содержало в себе новые формы борьбы.

В результате обстоятельств, сложившихся в Юго-Восточной Азии, где функционировала Индийская национальная армия под руководством Боса, и событий, развивавшихся в это время в Индии, стала очевидной иллюзорность доктрины «враги Англии — наши друзья», и дальнейшая деятельность Боса и его сторонников оказалась перед препятствиями, преодолеть которые можно было единственным путем — возвращением на родину и участием в общей борьбе за ее освобождение, которую возглавляли политические силы внутри страны. Однако этот путь был почти неосуществим. Колониальные власти ждали случая беспощадно расправиться с «изменниками».

Бос, сохраняя стойкость и самообладание, пытался найти какой-то выход для себя лично, но эти попытки кончились крахом.

В. И. Ленин, рассматривая вопрос о роли личности в истории, писал: «...Идея исторической необходимости ничуть не подрывает роли личности в истории: история вся складывается именно из действий личностей, представляющих из себя несомненно деятелей. Действительный вопрос, возникающий при оценке общественной деятельности личности, состоит в том, при каких условиях этой деятельности обеспечен успех? в чем состоят гарантии того, что деятельность эта не останется одиночным актом, тонущим в море актов противоположных?»<sup>61</sup>.

С. Ч. Бос, несомненно, был деятелем, и достаточно крупным, сыгравшим важную роль в развитии антимпериалистического движения Индии. Его широкие социально-политические взгляды, включавшие борьбу за социальные преобразования в разных сферах общественно-экономической жизни Индии, носили функциональный характер и определялись национализмом, что ставило его как политическую фигуру в трудное положение. Он не всегда считался с политическими реалиями того или иного периода, выдвигая леворадикальные требования в противовес

«конституционалистскому», или «реформистскому», по его определению, кредо гандистов.

Вместе с тем он не сформировал своей позитивной программы. Основная сила его состояла в критике отдельных идейных установок Индийского национального конгресса и тактической деятельности его руководства. Иногда эта критика велась с прогрессивных позиций и способствовала усилению позитивных потенций всего движения. В частности, он поддерживал идею вовлечения рабочих и крестьян и их организаций в активную антиколониальную борьбу, отстаивал идею единого фронта в середине 30-х годов. Выступал с осуждением агрессии и считал, что после достижения независимости Индия будет поддерживать борьбу с любой агрессией на международной арене. Он резко отрицательно относился к коммунизму и подходил к решению общинно-религиозной проблемы с секуляристских позиций, так же как и большинство конгрессистов. Ненависть ко всему английскому приводила его к отрицанию парламентской системы, и он видел ближайшее будущее государственного устройства независимой Индии в диктатуре партии, которая должна обеспечить ее быстрое экономическое развитие.

Отсутствие целостной идейной концепции стратегии национально-освободительного движения приводило его к поискам идеологических стереотипов в движении шинфейнеров, кемализме, национал-социализме и «заглядыванию в большевизм»<sup>62</sup>, а также к попыткам найти синтезированную конструкцию из противоположных идеологических течений.

Эклектизм был характерен для многих идейных течений, складывавшихся в ходе национально-освободительного движения в Индии. Но они аккумулировали в себе более или менее однородные потоки неравнозначных систем. Бос же пытался (особенно в последний период деятельности) соединить взаимно отталкивающиеся элементы, и вследствие этого целостной системы не получилось.

Это обстоятельство привязывало его к Конгрессу, несмотря на острые разногласия с его руководством. Интуитивно он чувствовал, что Национальный конгресс является единственной реальной силой, способной осуществить освобождение Индии от колониальной зависимости. Не случайно даже после выхода из Конгресса и образования самостоятельной партии — «Форвард блок» Бос заявил: «Я буду оставаться верным и с большей преданностью, чем прежде, Конгрессу и стране как слуга нации»<sup>63</sup>.

Трагедия Боса заключалась в том, что он, посвятив свою жизнь борьбе за свободу индийского народа, не смог понять сложных переплетений социально-политических, духовных и психологических процессов, определявших основной поток национально-освободительного движения, и оказался на обочине дороги, ведущей к независимости.



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Г. Караваев  
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ПОЛНОМОЧНОЕ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬСТВО СССР В  
АФГАНИСТАНЕ.

О Б З О Р

ИНДИЙСКОЙ

П Р Е С С Ы по 23 февраля

№ 11.

От 1 марта 1941 года.

С о д е р ж а н и е :

1. "Экономическое положение Афганистана".
2. "Первый афганский сахарный завод в Баглане".
3. "Предложения Боса о едином фронте отвергнуты Ганди".
4. "Недостаток риса в Индии. Угроза голода".



Германия снабжает машинами и другим фабричным оборудованием, железными и стальными изделиями, медными и скобяными изделиями, аппаратами и частями, химикатами и медикаментами, моторизованным транспортом.

Бирма возит преимущественно нить и сизывающую нить.

Из Англии возится машинное оборудование и инструменты, посуда и прочие товары, бумага, одежда, обувь, автомобили, химикаты, медикаменты и табак.

Более 60 процентов импорта Соединенных Штатов составляют автомобили, а в общем возятся машины, фабричное оборудование, аппаратура, инструменты, оборудование, медикаменты и химикаты.

Среди других стран, предоставляющих некоторую значимую по импорту, являются Япония, снабжающая сахаром, Чехословакия, возящая медные изделия и стеклянную посуду.

Китай снабжает главным образом чаем, шелковыми изделиями и суконной обувью.

### ПЕРВЫЙ АФГАНСКИЙ САХАРНЫЙ ЗАВОД В БАГЛАНЕ .

/ "Бомбей Хроникль" 18 февраля 1941 г./

"Пешавар 17 февр".

"Афганский портовый сахарный завод, построенный в этом году в Баглане, может покрыть полугодовую потребность в сахаре страны. Завод расположен близко к главной дороге идущей от Пуль-и-Хумри к сердцу Афганской провинции, где имеется много пахотной земли, пригодной для посевов свеклы.

Земли Баглана пригодны для возделывания, свекловичных и мелких полей. Сюда призваны земледельцы со всех концов страны, для проведения работ по насаждению свекловичной культуры. С этой целью каждому приглашенному земледельцу дано поле и финансовый заем.

Афганские власти уверены в успехе начатых мероприятий. Производительность предприятия - 11,000 тонн сахара в год. Поощряется дальнейшая инвестиция капиталов в сахарную промышленность.

### ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ БОСА О ЕДИНОМ ФРОНТЕ ОТВЕРГНУТЫ ГАНДИ .

В "Трибюн" от 23 февраля опубликована переписка между Ганди и лидером "Бордюр Блока" Босом, перед его исчезновением. Как явствует из письма Боса, отправленного Ганди 23 декабря 1941 года, Бос был настроен отнюдь не мистически религиозно, как рисовали его настроения газеты, после сг



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исчезновения. Бос в двух своих письмах, посланных Ганди, предлагает ему единый фронт и участие членов организации "Бортерд Блока" в кампании сатьяграха. Однако наряду с этим он указывает на ограниченность движений сатьяграха, считает, что только массовая борьба может привести к победе. Я думал - пишет он, что вы об"явите массовое движение, как вы сделали это в 1921, 30 и 32 годах, хотя я знал, что вы только допускаете индивидуальное неповиновение. Сейчас совершенно очевидно, что движение начатое вами преследует не цели национально-освободительной борьбы.

В такой же степени это движение не является массовой борьбой.

Если бы правительство согласилось разрешить выступления с анти-военными речами, движение было бы прекращено вами.

Тем не менее, мы хотим, поскольку нам позволяет наша программа, об"единиться с вами в этом движении, несмотря на его ограниченный характер.

Несмотря на наши разногласия с высшим руководством конгресса, мы предлагаем единство, на стави никаких особых условий. Одновременно мы, конечно, не закрываем глаза на более широкие задачи стоящие перед страной. Прошу вас принять наши предложения о единых действиях."

Ганди отверг эти предложения по тем мотивам, что пути течений, возглавляемых этими лидерами, противоположны.

#### НЕДОСТАТОК РИСА В ИНДИИ .

##### УГРОЗА ГОЛОДА .

"Бомбей Хроникль" от 18 февраля под крупным заголовком, сообщает об угрозе голода в Индии. Бомбейская ассоциация рисоторговцев обратилась к правительству с заявлением, в котором указывают на ограниченное количество риса в стране в связи с неурожаем.

Согласно заявлению ассоциации, урожай риса в Бенгале на 40 лакхов английских тонн / 40 лакхов = 4,000,000 Род. ниже нормального и на 18 лакхов английских тонн / 18 лакхов = 1,800,000 / ниже прошлого года. В других местах Индии урожай риса также далек от нормального. В Бирме купцами закуплен рис для Индии на десятки миллионов рупий, но он не может быть вывезен оттуда, так как правительство Индии мобилизовало для военных нужд не только британские но и индийские суда, а для нужд гражданского населения предоставляет очень мало транспорта.

Одновременно газета "Сигил энд Милитери Газетт" от 23 февраля 1941 г. сообщает о неурожае риса в Бихаре. Урожай этого года исчисляется здесь в 32,860,200 английских центнеров против 52,433,100 английских центнеров прошлого года. Общая площадь под озимыми посевами риса исчисляется в 6,988,500 акров против 7,299,400 акров прошлого года.



ОБЗОР ИНДИЙСКОЙ ПРЕССЫ № 8 ОТ  
21 АВГУСТА 1938г.

<u>О Г Л А В Л Е Н И Е</u>	<u>Страница</u>
<u>I. А Ф Г А Н И С Т А Н .</u>	
Индийская торговля в Афганистане	1.
Порядок торговли каракулем	2.
Афганский импорт и экспорт контролируется комиссиями	3.
Золнеция на границе Афганистана	4.
Пир сдался	4.
Подстрекательство к восстанию в Афганистане	5.
Пами Пир направляется в Сирию	6.
Университет и больница для Кабула	7.
Колледж в Афганистане	8.
<u>II. ПОГРАНИЧНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ.</u>	
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Требование освобождения коммунистов	11.
Бомбардировка на границе	11.
<u>III. И Н Д О - Я П О Н С К И Е О Т Н О Ш Е Н И Я</u>	
Текстильная проблема	12.
Англия теряет индийские рынки	13.
Индо японские торговые отношения	13.
<u>IV. И Н Д И Я</u>	
Черу в Европе	17.
Новые силы в Индии	20.
Конгресс и Федерация	21.
Помощь Индии Китаю	23.
Стачечное движение в Индии	24.
Индо-мусульманские переговоры о единстве	27.
Индийский национальный конгресс и	
Мусульманская лига	30.
Сотфрешения мусульманских организации	33.



Говоря о международном положении и опасности войны, Пандит Неру заявил, что Индия занимает прочную позицию в этих вопросах. Народ в Индии не допустит, чтобы на него возложили бремя войны.

Пандит Неру имел долгую беседу с лордом Зетландом.

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БОРЬБА ЗА ЕДИНСТВЕННЫЙ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ ФЛАГ В ИНДИИ.

Кампания поднятая индийским Национальным Конгрессом о флаге конгресса, как едином национальном флаге борющейся за свое освобождение национальности, нашла бурный отклик в стране. В одних случаях это предложение принимается и демонстрируется, как символ национального единства поддержки Национального Конгресса. В других случаях проходит в ожесточенной борьбе за преимущество флагов разных общинных групп.

Газета "Трибюн" от 1-го июля 1938г. на первой странице помещает следующее сообщение:

"Пять флагов на здании муниципалитета".

Корреспондент газеты "Пайонир" телеграфно сообщает о том, что на здании муниципалитета в городе Кхурджа водружено пять флагов. Среди них: флаг Конгресса, флаг мусульманской лиги, флаг сикхов и др. Поднятие каждого флага сопровождалось процессией. Для обсуждения создавшегося положения созывается специальное заседание департамента.

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КОНГРЕСС И ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ.

("Сивил энд Милитери Газет", 21 мая 1938г.)

Бомбей, 20 мая.- Председатель Всеиндийского Национального Конгресса Субхаш Чандра Баз выступил вчера на митинге индийских и европейских прогрессивных обществ.



Характеризуя разработанную и "дарованную" Индии британс- империализмом Федеральную систему он сказал: "Федераль- ная система совершенно неудовлетворительна, как в части форми- рования федеральных законодательных органов, так и в ча- сти составления федерального правительства. Метод косвенных выборов противоречит принципам демократии. Сформирование федеральных законодательных органов будет таково, что ра- зные общины и общественные группы будут раз'единены, разо- рваны на части, ограждены непроницаемой стеной друг от дру- га метод - не находящий себе примера ни в одной стране мира

Представители индийских туземных княжеств будут не вы- борные лица, а назначенные принцами. Эти назначенные пред- ставители занимают число мест далеко не пропорционально на- селению туземных княжеств. Население княжеств составляе- т суммарно, 21 процент всего населения Индии в то время как количество мест в нижней федеральной палате предоставлен- ных принцам составляет 33 процента. Число более бедные и слабые княжества не представлены вовсе. Преимущество дано наиболее реакционным принцам..."

Обратимся к департаменту обороны. От 55 до 60 процентов всех доходов идет на усиление армии, воздушных и морских сил. Мы не будем иметь никакой власти над этими огромными суммами. Эти деньги будут расходоваться год за годом, но расходы не предусматривают ничтожных затрат на подлинную оборону нации и страны. Метод каким вербуются индийские офицеры потребует тысячи лет для индианизации армии. Если 75 процентов доходов от нас отбирают, если не дают никакой власти, как можем мы оценить такую Федерацию.



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Аргумент будто Индия еще не созрела для свободы не держивает никакой критики. До тех пор, пока британское правительство отказывается передать средства обороны в руки индусов, конфликт будет продолжаться. Вся федеральная система построена на недоверии.

Конгресс, а под его руководством и провинциальные правительства всячески будут противодействовать федеральной системе."

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ПОМОЩЬ ИНДИИ КИТАЮ.

ВОЗВАНИЕ СЕКРЕТАРЯ КОМИССИИ МЕДИЦИНСКОЙ ПОМОЩИ КИТАЮ.

("Трибюн" 1го июля 1938г.)

Бомбей 30 июня, -М-р Хутисинг, секретарь комиссии медицинской помощи Китаю опубликовал следующее воззвание:

"Мы в Индии искренне симпатизируем великому китайскому народу. В знак выражения наших лучших пожеланий исполнительный комитет Конгресса решил послать в Китай медицинскую группу с полным медицинским оборудованием. Приготовления к отправке этой группы подходят к концу. Заготовлены инструменты, отобраны доктора из многочисленного количества предлагавших свои услуги.

Что мы ощущаем недостаток в средствах. Председатель Конгресса Субхаш Чанндра Баз предложил провести 7,8 и 9 июля "Дни сбора в пользу Китая".

7 июля исполняется год с начала войны в Китае. В этот день, после нескольких выстрелов вблизи Пекина Япония начала наступление на Китай. Китайцы хоть и не вооруженные ответили храброй защитой.



9 июля-годовщина Китайской республики. В этот день мс Чан-Кай-Ши дал в Чанточе клятву об'единить Китай и он в полнил свое обязательство.

Поэтому в эти дни комитет предполагает организовать п даку петличных флажков на улицах сбор от которых пойдет в пользу Китая. Я надеюсь, что общество широко откликнет на воззвание председателя Конгресса и покупкой флажков вы зит свою солидарность с Китаем.

Флажки будут двухсторонние. С одной стороны будет фл Конгресса с другой флаг Китая .

Далее указывается адрес где все заинтересованные орг низации и лица могут купить соответствующее количество флажков."

-----  
СТАЧЕЧНОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ В ИНДИИ.

("Сивил энд Милитери Газет" и "Бомбей кроникл публикуют данные о стачечном движении в Индии за 1937г.)

Симла, 20 июня.- За 1937г. (кончая 31 декабря) в Инд насчитывается не менее 8,982,000 потерянных рабочих дней, в результате стачечного движения в промышленности. Из них большая часть -6,000,883 падает на Бенгал. Второе место занимает бомбей с общии количеством 897,211 потерянных дней. И наконец Соединенные провинции насчитывают 704,940 потерянных рабочих дней.

Из общего количества 647,801 вовлеченных в стачку рабочих, Бенгал насчитывает 365,699, Бомбей-109,888 и Соеднненые Провинции 63,350 рабочих.

В Синде, Ориссе, Уели, Центральных Провинциях и Белуджистане было затишье. В Ориссе имела место одна стачка, охватившая пять провинции.



## КРАТКАЯ БИОГРАФИЧЕСКАЯ СПРАВКА

Субхас Чандра Бос - один из видных руководителей Индийского Национального Конгресса. В 1928 г. участвовал в создании Лиги независимости, объединившей левых конгрессистов. В 1931 г. был избран председателем Всеиндийского конгресса профсоюзов. Неоднократно избирался членом Всеиндийского комитета Национального Конгресса. В 1933-1935 гг. посетил Италию, Германию, Австрию. В 1935 г. написал книгу "Индийская борьба". В 1935 г., после VII Конгресса Коминтерна, когда в Индии развернулась борьба за единый национальный фронт против британского империализма, начал выступать в защиту СССР, против угрозы новой империалистической войны, против фашизма. В 1937-1938 гг. искал сближения с английскими и индийскими коммунистами. В эти годы много выступал на массовых митингах рабочих и крестьян о едином национальном фронте. В 1938 г. был избран председателем Национального Конгресса. В 1939 г. из-за разногласий с М.Ганди Бос вышел в отставку с поста председателя Конгресса. В 1939 г. создал организацию "Форвард блок" с целью объединения левых сил. В действительности "Форвард блок" остался организацией, имевшей значительное влияние лишь в Бенгалии. Во время второй мировой войны организовал Индийскую национальную армию из индийцев, проживающих на территориях, оккупированных Японией. Бос заявлял, что, используя помощь Германии и Японии, он борется за освобождение Индии от английского господства. В сообщении корреспондента агентства Рейтер из Дели от 11 октября 1946 г. говорится, что Бос в августе 1945 г. погиб при катастрофе самолета, летевшего из Сингапура в Токио.

Зам. зав. Центральным  
партархивом Института  
марксизма-ленинизма  
при ЦК КПСС

Научный сотрудник

Ю.Амиантов

Р.Парадизова



СЧЕТНИК  
А ПОДПИСАТЕЛЬ  
А. ГАНИСТАВ  
ЛОВА, В.С.

РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО  
19-061830-1

Секрет

Вх. № 207 Из. № 105

DOCUMENT NO 2

НКВД Отдел Среднего Востока СЕКРЕТНО
Вх. № 534 12/12 1941 г.

ЗАПИСЬ БЕСЕДЫ С СЕКРЕТАРЕМ НЕМЦКОЙ МИССИИ -  
ШИМДТОМ.

15 марта 1941 г.

Шимдт зашел за получением визы на итальянского  
гражданина Орландо Маселла. Поблагодарив за оформление  
паспорта Шимдт задал мне общий вопрос, "что нового?"

И сообщил ему об установлении нормальных диплома-  
тических, торговых и консульских отношений между СССР  
и Турк.

Шимдт сказал, что он говорил с посланником немец-  
кой миссии Шильгером относительно целей посещения /у/  
ромашко в делах Турции Тахсин Ризет Гач /см. моя беседа  
от 13/2-41 г: с секретарем немецкой миссии - Шимдтом/  
Турок, якобы, сказал Шильгеру о том, что Турция не соби-  
рается воевать с Германией и якобы, турецкое правитель-  
ство послало Гитлеру письмо, в котором изложило свое же-  
лание сохранять свой нейтралитет и в дальнейшем. В связи  
с тем, что Турция не собирается вступить в нынешнюю  
войну арабское правительство чувствует себя очень спо-  
койно, так как оно не будет связано в какой бы то ни было  
мере оказать помощь Турции с которой Афганистан связан  
договором.

Немец заявил, что через два-три дня Афганистан присоеди-  
дится к троцкистскому пакту, а после за этим посредст-  
вом различного воздействия на Грецию последуют также при-  
соединения к Германии. Таким образом, продолжил немец,



86  
161  
161

позиция Германии укрепляется с каждым днем. Сейчас главной задачей Германии является организация наступления на Англию путем обхвата со всех сторон. После разгрома Англии на ее островах, немцы обратят внимание на Африку. В связи с этим я спросил его, правда ли, что Гитлер принимает меры для получения разрешения от французского правительства занять ряд портов в северной Африке для борьбы с Англией и помогает ли Франция Германии. На первый вопрос немцы уклончиво ответили, что этот вариант вообще возможен, что же касается помощи Франции Германии, то эту помощь действительно немцы получают от Франции.

Гимдт говоря о позиции англичан и о помощи которую они могут получить от Америки, сказал, что у англичан неспокоен, в частности положение в Индии в настоящее время для англичан создается весьма напряженное. Это напряженное положение резко усилится с прибытием в Германию Субха Чандра Боса, который является очень влиятельным лицом в Индии. Бос будет использован немцами для пропаганды против владычества англичан в Индии и в конечном итоге все будет сделано так, что вынуждены выступят против своих угнетателей и выгонят прочь их со своей территории. Немцы сказали, что они думают использовать Субха Чандра Боса предоставив ему возможность выступать по радио, но не в Германии, а в Японии. Затем Гимдт сказал, что временно успехи англичан в Африке только имеют внешнюю сторону, так как по существу войска затягиваются в Африку, чем ослабляется военная мощь Англии и ее тыл.

Я сказал, что прочитал в английских бюллетенях о прибытии министра Иностранных дел Японии - Мацуока на территорию СССР для дальнейшего следования в Берлин и Рим. Гимдт заявил, что Мацуока едет не только в Берлин и Рим, но он безусловно будет иметь переговоры с советским правительством. Затем Гимдт многозначительно добавил, что за



- 3 -

последнее время; тов. Молотов был на приеме в Немецкой Миссии в Москве два раза.

Ихоя Имидт сказал, что немцам очень нравятся наши фильмы, спросил меня, не получили ли мы письмо из СССР.

Я ответил немцу, что в ближайшее время мы возможно организуем показ советского кино-фильма для немецкой миссии. Тогда Имидт сказал, что он интересуется этим вопросом еще и потому, что у него имеется один друг дома, очень хороший человек, хорошо расположенный к нам, фамилия его Шварц, работает он в настоящее время в госпитале. Имидт хотел бы, что он также был приглашен к нам из кино.

/КОЛОДОВ/

Т. Молотову.....1  
Т. Вышинскому.....1  
Т. Лозовскому.....1  
Генсекретариат.....3  
Дело.....1

7.





PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
September 18, 1990

Sub: Letter dated 24th August, 1990 enclosing a copy of resolution of the Central Committee of the All India Forward Bloc regarding the ashes of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose.

Dear Shri Basu,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,



[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Shri Chitta Basu, MP  
28, Gurdwara Rakabganj Road  
New Delhi



## П Е Р Е Ч Е Н Ь

ксерокопий документов и материалов  
о деятеле освободительного движения Индии  
Н.С.Ч.Босе, переданных индийской стороне

1. Краткая биографическая справка на С.Ч.Боса от 5 февраля 1941 г. и сопроводительное письмо секретариата Г.М.Димитрова на имя заместителя наркома иностранных дел С.А.Лозовского.
2. Запись беседы советника Полпредства СССР в Афганистане В.С.Козлова с секретарем германской миссии Шмидтом от 15 марта 1941 г.
3. Краткая биографическая справка на С.Ч.Боса, составленная по материалам ТАСС и зарубежной печати в Центральном партийном архиве Института марксизма-ленинизма при ЦК КПСС.
4. Обзоры индийской прессы за 1938 и 1941 годы.
5. Статья Т.Ф.Девяткиной "Социально-политические взгляды С.Ч.Боса".
6. Статья А.В.Райкова "Индия в планах фашистской Германии в годы второй мировой войны" (Журнал "Новая и новейшая история", 1989, № 1, стр. 133-154).

Всего - на 58 листах.

- 6 has not been used. I have told Sov. FO about this. TM - 20/8
1. Biography - 1941
  2. Notes on discussion between Soviet rep in Afghanistan & Secretary of German Mission Schmidt - 1941
  3. Brief biography of Bose
  4. Extracts from Indian Press 1938-1941
  5. } Articles on socio-political contribution of Bose
  6. }



MOST IMMEDIATETELEX

FROM : FOREIGN NEW DELHI  
TO : INDEMBASSY MOSCOW

REMI

DCM FROM US (SU)

RPT. MINISTER (ECONOMIC)

TO ANSWER A PARLIAMENT QUESTION, WE REQUIRE  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION URGENTLY :

- (a) THE NUMBER OF PROTOCOLS/JOINT COMMUNIQUE SIGNED  
BETWEEN INDIA AND USSR DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS.  
(b) THE NUMBER OF PROTOCOLS SIGNED BETWEEN THE TWO  
COUNTRIES DURING THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR (.)

KINDLY SEND THE REQUISITE INFORMATION ALONG WITH BRIEF  
PARTICULARS (.) REGARDS (.)

N.T.T.

NO. MI/205/1/90-EE

16.8.90

( Sunil Jain )  
Under Secretary (SU)

Copy by bag in confirmation sent to:

1. Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of India, Moscow.
2. Minister (Economic), Embassy of India, Moscow.

( Sunil Jain )  
Under Secretary (SU)

For file in  
Rtts sent.

24/8

WLS



МИНИСТЕРСТВО

ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ СССР

№ 1250/иду

Приложение:  
упомянутое  
на 59 лл.

Министерство иностранных дел Союза Советских Социалистических Республик – Историко-дипломатическое управление – свидетельствует свое уважение Посольству Индии в СССР и в ответ на ноту Посольства № SA/53/90 от 21 мая 1990 г. имеет честь направить ксерокопии архивных и других материалов, имеющих отношение к видному деятелю индийского освободительного движения Нетаджи Субхас Чандра Босу.

Министерство иностранных дел пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Посольству уверения в своем весьма высоком уважении.



Москва, " 14 " августа 1990 года

ПОСОЛЬСТВО ИНДИИ В СССР  
г. Москва





PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
July 9, 1990

Dear Shri Basu Ji,

Please refer to your letter of 1st March in which you have, inter alia, suggested that the Indian Government should purchase the house in Kabul where Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had stayed for some time and set up a suitable Memorial there.

Our Ambassador in Kabul has had discussions with the Afghan authorities on this proposal. The Afghan Government has reacted positively. However, the House is in the old part of Kabul city in an area earmarked for demolition. The Mayor of Kabul has been requested to indicate if the House can be saved from demolition. If this can be done, we could consider acquiring/restoring the House and converting it into a Memorial/Museum or Library. If, however, the House cannot be saved then the best course would be to erect a Memorial Plaque on the site.

Our Ambassador is in touch with the Afghan authorities on this issue and we hope to be in a position to take a final decision shortly.

As regards your proposal that we should rebuild the INA Memorial in Singapore, it is understood that the Government of Singapore's response has not been positive.

The other suggestions made by you for commemorating Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose are being considered in consultation with the Departments concerned.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Shri Chitta Basu  
General Secretary  
All India Forward Bloc  
28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road  
New Delhi-110001





R L Narayan  
Counsellor(Political)

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को

EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha

MOSCOW

Tel. No. 297-0820

D. 678/10/80

15/6/90

(6)

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No. Mos/Pol/125/1/90

June 12, 1990

My dear Rajiv,

Please refer to your letter No.2837/JS(EE)/90 dated 18 May 1990 addressed to DCM regarding the documentation on Subhas Chandra Bose which is apparently in the possession of the Soviet Government. This is an interim reply to clarify that we have addressed a Note Verbale on this matter to the Soviet Foreign Office. I have spoken also to Yurlov of the Central Committee as well as to the South Asia Directorate in this matter. They are making enquiries into the matter and have promised to revert to us.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely

RLN -

(R L Narayan)

o/c

Shri Rajiv Sikri  
JS(EE)  
MEA, New Delhi



F.4(3)5/90-P.A. By. Diplomatic Bag  
Government of India  
National Archives of India  
Janpath,  
New Delhi-1, the

29 JUN 1990

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TO

The First Secretary,  
Indian Embassy in U.S.S.R.,  
Moscow,  
C/o Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

Please refer to your letter No. MAS/POL/125/1/90  
dated 21.5.1990 regarding "Secret documents" relating to  
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union.

You are requested to intimate us the latest  
progress in the matter so as to enable us to inform  
Department of Culture accordingly in view of the assurance  
given in <sup>the</sup> Parliament in regard to the aforesaid documents.

Yours faithfully,

Jayanti Doss  
for Director General of Archives,  
Government of India.

Pl. put up with  
19/7

CNHO

Pl. see the previous PPs on this  
& thereafter check with GLEB on  
whether there has been any progress

FS/P 6/8  
pr m. 1  
BS  
GL



No. F.4(3)5/90-P.A.,  
Government of India,  
National Archives of India,  
Janpath, New Delhi-1, the

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31 JUL 1990

To

The First Secretary,  
Indian Embassy in U.S.S.R.  
Moscow,  
C/o Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

This is in continuation of this Department letter  
of even number dated 29.6.90 regarding some secret documents  
relating to Netaji Subhas Chander Bose in the Soviet possession.

You are requested to intimate us the progress made in  
the matter at your earliest convenience so as to enable us  
to inform Department of Culture accordingly in view of the  
assurance given in Parliament in regard to the aforesaid  
documents.

*H. removed  
the Foreign  
As sent up  
then response*  
78

Yours faithfully,

*Msehgal*

for Director General of Archives,  
Government of India.

*CCP*

*CCP*  
78





Rajiv Sikri  
Joint Secretary (EE)

No. 2837 JS(EE)/90

D-377/DCM/90

29/5/90

409/P/O/90

293/4/90

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI

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18 May, 1990

D. 663/P/O/90  
18/6/90

CP/ My dear Prem,

You would recall that at the lunch at your residence when I was in Moscow last month I had mentioned to Bostorin about Dr. Yurlova's reported statement in Calcutta in March that the Soviet Government possesses certain top secret documents on Subhas Chandra Bose.

Prof. Samar Guha has recently written to EAM on the subject. A copy of the entire correspondence forwarded by Samar Guha, including a letter written by him to Mr. Gorbachev in November '88 is enclosed.

I wonder whether the Soviet Foreign Office has ever looked into this matter. I suspect not. Nevertheless, since we have a recent reported statement by Dr. Yurlova in this matter, it may be worthwhile to find out from her what she knows about it and how we should proceed in the matter.

Discreetly

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Rajiv

(Rajiv Sikri)

Pl. inform  
J.S (EE) about the  
efforts initiated  
by us.

Shri P.K. Budhwar  
Deputy Chief of Mission,  
Embassy of India,  
MOSCOW.

Spoken to Mushkentev who  
says Soviets are investigating  
the matter. Pl. check up  
progress with him after a  
couple of weeks. Letter was  
also be put up to Secy  
on his return.

Amk may pl. see. There was a pertinent  
question on the Yurlova statement  
& the concerned Minister has given  
an assurance that we will approach  
the Soviets for the documents or  
their photocopies. I had sent a  
note verbally to the Foreign Office.  
Yesterday I had also mentioned  
it to Yurlov, & will follow up  
with him after a few days.

FS/pt  
3/6  
18/6  
24/6

28/5/90  
29/5



PR. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



2837/55(22)B0  
17/5

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8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

May 12/1990

V.1637/EAM/90  
16/5/90

Dear Shri Gujral,

There were various reports that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose escaped to Soviet Russia under the camouflage of a fake air-crash at Taihoku airport of former Formosa.

I got a report about Netaji's presence in a Re-orientation Camp in Russian Siberia in 1961. I had written the enclosed letter to the Soviet leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev to shed light on the report of Netaji's going to Soviet Russia after Japanese defeat in 1945.

Recently Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies told press reporters on March 4, 1990 in Calcutta that "the Soviet Government possess certain top secret documents on Subhas Chandra Bose which had never been made accessible."

My letter to the Soviet leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev was again forwarded to him separately by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, former President of India and Shri S. Nijalingappa, a former Congress President.

However, none of these letters have been replied by Mr. Gorbachev.

I also made a representation to the President of India, Shri R. Venkatraman for taking up the issue with our Government. The President informed that <sup>he</sup> had sent the copy of my letter to Mr. Gorbachev to Shri Narsimha Rao, when he was Minister-in-charge of External Affairs. However, I don't know if any move had been made by the former Minister of External Affairs to contact the Soviet Authority to ascertain the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Soviet Russia after the last Great War.

I am giving you a fresh copy of the letter I addressed to the Soviet leader ~~Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev~~ Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. I believe you will take up this sensitive national issue with the Soviet Authority.

I hope you will remember that the Janata Government rejected the findings of Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission on 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' Decision of the Cabinet was announced on the floor of Lok Sabha by the then Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai.

Top secret classified documents on the reports of air-crash at Taipai on 17th August 1945 allegedly involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose are lying in the archives of the Governments of Soviet Russia, U.K., Japan and USA.



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संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



-2-

I hope you will consider it as a sacred national duty to finally know what really happened to the greatest national hero of Indian National freedom, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

Shri I.K.Gujral  
Minister of External Affairs  
Government of India  
New Delhi



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PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. ससद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

May 12, 1990

Respected Rastrapatiji,

I hope you will kindly remember that I gave you a copy of my letter written to the Russian leader Mekhail Gorbachev regarding a report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Russia in 1961.

Later copies of my letter to Mr. Gorbachev were separately forwarded to him by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, former President of India and Shri S. Nijalingappa, a former Congress President.

Unfortunately, there is yet no response to my letter from Mr. Gorbachev.

You kindly told me that my representation to you on Netaji will be sent to the Minister of External Affairs of the time, Shri Narshimha Rao for necessary action. I don't know if Shri Rao took any step regarding the matter.

Recently, Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies told press reporters in Calcutta on March 4, 1990 that 'the Soviet Government possess certain top secret documents on Subhas Chandra Bose.'

I would earnestly request you to send a fresh copy of my letter to Mr. Gorbachev to our present Prime Minister Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh intimating him your desire for taking up the matter with the Soviet Government.

According to available reports top secret classified documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the reports of the plane crash allegedly involving him are lying in the archives of the Government of Russia, U.K., Japan and USA. I would request you to ask the Govt. of India to make special investigations to know from these documents what really happened to Netaji.

I believe you will consider it as our sacred national duty to the greatest national hero of our national freedom.

With kind regards and namaskar,

Shri R. Venkat Raman  
President of India  
Rastrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )



1  
PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



72  
8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

May 12/1990

Dear Prime Minister,

I am sure it is known to you that during the days of Janata Govt. Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai made an announcement on the floor of Lok Sabha in August 1978 rejecting the finding of Shah Nawaj Committee and Khosla Commission on "disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." According to various official documents available a general believe prevails in India that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose escaped to Soviet Russia under the camouflage of a fake air-crash at Taihoku airport of former Formosa after the defeat of Japan.

Sometime back I was convincingly told by an Indian engineer who had been in Russia that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was kept confined in a Re-orientation Camp in Siberia.

On the basis of various reports about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Russia I wrote the enclosed letter to the Soviet leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. My letter was later forwarded to Mr. Gorbachev separately by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, former President of India, and Shri S. Nijalingappa a former President of the Congress.

I also made a representation to the President of India Shri R. Venkatraman for taking up the matter with the Govt. of Soviet Russia. The President readily agreed to send my letter to Mr. Gorbachev to Shri Narisimha Rao, the then Minister of External Affairs.

My letter has not been replied by Mr. Gorbachev. Whether any positive step has been taken by the Government of India to contact Russian Govt. regarding the issue raised in the enclosed letter has not been informed to me.

I am giving you a fresh copy of my letter addressed to the Soviet leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. I believe that you will consider it to be a sensitive national issue to take up the matter of Netaji's probable presence in Russia after the War with the Moscow authority.

Recently, Dr. E. S. Yurlova of Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies told the press ~~reports~~ on March 4, 1990 at Calcutta that 'the Soviet Govt. possess certain top secret documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose which had never been made accessible.'

It is also known that many top secret documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the report of the plane crash alleging his death in



संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



-2-

it are lying in classified secret files of the Governments of Japan, U.K., U.S.A. and Soviet Russia. After rejection of the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission on 'disappearance of Netaji' a suggestion was made to me by Janata Government that some positive efforts #would be made for high level investigations into the secret documents in the hands of Soviet Russia, U.K., Japan and U.S.A. However, because of sudden collapse of the Janata Government the matter could not be pursued.

I would urge you to take up the matter of Netaji's probable presence in Russia after the War with the Soviet authority and also take positive steps for high level investigations into the documents that are lying with the Governments of U.K., Japan and USA to finally know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I hope you will consider it a sacred national duty to make all efforts to finally know what really happened to the greatest national hero of the Indian national freedom, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With thanks and regards,

Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )



In the middle of 1933 Subhas Chandra Bose visited Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. He extensively toured the villages of Poland. There he visited Agricultural Schools, got an idea how to adjust with the old and new scientific methods of Agricultural system. He was invited to the Oriental Society at Warsaw. Had an idea to build up 'Indo-Polish Friendship Society' in India. He was introduced to vastly learned Saint like Professor Myka'ski. Bose was heartily received by the Professor.

When Subhas Chandra reached Prague, he was given an august reception by the city's Lord Mayor. There he quite meticulously observed the functioning of every Department of Municipality. And he visualised almost a same type of institution for his own Country. Till then Subhas Chandra Bose was the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation.

Prague's 'Masoric Home' and the Hospital for lepers did not escape his eyes. He visited the University and 'Pilson's Scoda Factory'. Dr. Benis, Minister of the Department of Foreign Affairs, became a friend of Subhas Chandra Bose. They were introduced to each other in Prague. They had a long discussion on varied important issues. After ten days he left for Vienna.

During his visit in Czechoslovakia Subhas Chandra Bose had an occasion to meet Dr. Benas, Head of the State of Czechoslovakia. And they had a detailed discussion on various aspects.

Subhas Chandra Bose in a letter to Mrs. Kitty Kurti (a Czechoslovakian) asked for her opinion about the type of article he would be writing for the Czechoslovak Press. The acquaintance with Mrs. Kurti started in Berlin.



It was revealed from General Isoda, Chief of Hikari Kikan (Japanese most important intelligence liaison organisation between I.N.A. and Japanese Military H.Q. of South East Asia at present) :

It was decided firstly that Headquarter of Azad Hind Government would be shifted to SHANGHAI, and TIENTSIN, the Air Port of Manchuria, was nearer to Shanghai.

It was also the intention of Netaji that two BRANCH office of Azad Hind Government would be opened, one at SHANGHAI and another at PEKING or any other place of Northern China, if the Headquarter of Azad Hind Government was shifted to Saigon.

Netaji was very much eager to open a Centre at NORTH CHINA for the reason that it would be convenient to establish contact with Russia. It was also discussed that Netaji would go underground with some of his trusted followers in UNAN (China) area and would also establish a Centre there.

Netaji also deputed Ananda Mohan Sahay, the Secretary-General of the Indian Independence League to go to HANOI to establish contact with Ho-Chi-Minh. Shri Sahay told Khosla Commission : "The instructions to me were to contact Vietnamese revolutionaries, Ho-Chi-Minh and his lieutenant, who were there. It took me some time to get acquainted with them.....  
..... Netaji asked me to contact the Chinese Communists through Ho-Chi-Minh and try to set up Indian cells at CANTON, SHANGHAI and some other places in CHINA as well as INDO-CHINA". Shri Sahay also admitted that he was able to do something. He had met Ho-Chi-Minh and had made arrangements.



It was also revealed from ALFRED WAGO'S (War Correspondent of Chicago Tribune) Report that Netaji went to SHANGHAI and met some sikh businessmen and personnel two-three days after the alleged Air crash at TAIHOKU. Photographs of Netaji with sikh Personnel were shown to Sardar Niranjana Singh Talib and Sardar Baldev Singh at Later's residence at New Delhi. This was also corroborated from the evidence of Sardar Niranjana Singh Talib. At that time Sardar Baladev Singh was the Defence Minister of Interim Government in India.

An A.P.I. report published on New Delhi, August 29, 1945; an American Journalist (Alfred Wag) asserted that Bose was alive and seen four days ago in Saigon. The said Journalist communicated this news to Pandit Nehru at New Delhi on 29th August, 1945 ;

On September 11, Nehru himself told a Press Reporter of A.P.I. at Jhansi "..... like many other people, he did not believe the story of reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose ..... I have received a number of reports which have raised in me grave doubts and I disbelieve the authenticity of the news."

It was stated by Shri Chandra Singh Rowat, M.L.A. from GARWAL, before Khosla Commission that some time in December, 1955 or January, 1956, three GARWALI soldiers suddenly and mysteriously appeared their villages and stayed there secretly for few months. They were declared dead by the Government of India and their wives were enjoying widow-pension.

They enquired about the activities of Congress and other Political Parties. They disclose that they had come from SINKIANG Province via Nepal. In SINKIANG, there were about 13,000 Indian soldiers with Netaji and Netaji was waiting for an opportunity to bring India out of the Anglo-American influence.



NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND RUSSIA

"Bose considered that the Russian attitude was always in favour of India and her independence, and that at any time she might interfere on behalf of P.G.I. (249/INA G.H.Q. case on Bose and Russia).

"S.C. Bose was preparing to leave for Moscow in Order to place all information about the Indian Freedom Movement before the leaders of the U.S.S.R. It was also said that Col. S.A. Malik would follow S.C. Bose to Moscow. B766 heard the news from Lt. Subrammanian (then Adjutant of the YE-U Rest Camp). In December, 1944, Lt. Sadhu Singh of H.Q. I Div. I.N.A. who was acting as Q.M. of the YE-U Rest Camp, informed B766 that S.C. Bose had left for Moscow and was soon expected back in TOKYO." (Secret File No. 249-INA-II (H) G.H.Q. case on Subhas Chandra Bose).

"..... There was no need for the Japanese to ask the Russians for Bose's entry because Bose wanted to go to Manchuria from where he thought he would be able to get in touch with the Russian Forces." (Head Quarter Main File - 273 I.N.A. - 10 Misc.

"On 16th August S.C. Bose came to Bangkok by a plane specially made for him by the Japanese. It is also suspicious that Bose had to change plane at Saigon and go on in another plane with one of his staff Officers. It would appear more likely that person of Bose's importance would still be allowed to travel in his own special aircraft." (H.Q. Main File 273 I.N.A. 10 Misc.)

"Bose had been trying to persuade the Japanese to allow him to go to Manchuria since October, 1944, when they told him that they had no chance of invading India through Burma and that therefore, he was prepared to try another road to Delhi via Moscow. Reference should be made to HIKARI'S telegram at the time Bose arrived in Saigon. Isoda was also there and this fact may be significant that there was a plan on the part of HIKARI KIKAN to allow Bose to escape and to publish a false story regarding his death. This would have been the ideal place for ISODA (Chief of Hikari Kikan) to put into operation any such plan..... these are part



of a colossal and well executed deception manoeuvre. This file of Telegrams along with numerous other documents must have been purposely left for the British to find them. Although at this stage one cannot rule out the possibility of Bose being still alive, this file of telegrams contains four and most important one, which gives an idea of the plan to allow Bose to escape and to publish a false story regarding his death." (H.Q. Main File 10 MISC INA 273 subject Subhas Chandra Bose, Page-10).

Copy of the four telegrams are enclosed herewith.

Col. Tada, one of the Staff Officers of the F.M. Terauchi, (Supreme Commander, Japanese South East Asia Command) told, "after the end of the war when Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Netaji and asked him to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory - all help will be given to him. It was arranged that Chandra Bose will fly in the plane in which Shidei was going. General Shidei will look after Chandra Bose upto Dairen, and thereafter, he could fall back on his own resources to contact Russians. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allies." (Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission 1970).

"It was noteworthy that No. 1 message was sent by Lt. Gen. ISODA himself who was in Saigon at the time. The message was not sent until 18 August..... in view of the fact that the Signal was given an 'URGENT' priority, it seems obvious that in actual fact the Signal Originated on 18 August, 1945" [Secret No. 63/2/10 G.S.I.(b) HQ. SACSEA COMMISSION No. 1, Saigon, 18th October, 1945 ].

"..... Possible that ISODA had come here (Saigon) to workout and co-ordinate his 'deception plan' with Lt. Gen. NIMATA and he stayed on until this plan had been executed under his personal supervision." [Secret No. 63/2/10 G.S.(b) H.Q. SACSEA COMMISSION, 18th October, 1945 ] Lt. Gen. ISODA (Chief of Hikari Kikan). "The purpose of his (Netaji's) flight was to go to Soviet Union. He was going to Russia via Saigon." [Proceedings of Netaji Inquiry Commission 1970]



**Deposition of Capt. Biren Chakraborty of Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC) before Netaji Inquiry Commission (1970) headed by Justice G.D. Khosla.**

**Pages 3681-3682 :**

"There was a very strong Japanese Intelligence formation (at Harbin, Tiensin, Dairen in Manchuria).

"Itto and Indo - one a Captain and the other a Colonel - were both Officers of Japanese Intelligence Organisation in that particular area.

"They are covering the Soviet Borders, opposite Korea".

**Pages 3712 :**

"On the 18th morning a message was received in the Red Fort relayed from Trincomalie from the American Naval Intelligence, as far as I remember, stating that a twinengine bomber had been sighted and mentioning also the direction, altitude and speed of the air craft. The Military Intelligence hurriedly looked into their records, held a Court Martial and quickly decided that this was probably an aircraft maintaining the line of communication and it should be allowed to pass but it should be kept under observation from a certain distance - reasonable distance. No importance was given to information at the time".

**Pages 3687 :**

"On the 20th night a message was received from Macao about parachute landing of three persons in the area between Harbin and Tiensin..... Later on I heard from my colleagues in the CSDIC that this area where three persons were parachuted down was covered by the Japanese Intelligence Organisation under two Officers, namely, Itto and Indo - one was a Captain and the other was a Lt. Colonel."

**Page 3713 :**

"Later on when other pieces of information were pouring in, particularly when the statements of responsible INA Officers were being recorded, it was quickly ascertained that this particular message had a singular importance because this was the plane which took off with Gen. Shidei at 10-30 and which tallied with all the information on record regarding the visit of Netaji and his party to the headquarters of Field Marshall Terauchi."



Page 3720 :

"I got information from the records that the Japanese Intelligence formation was actually working there (Harbin and Tiensin) and an Indian named body was assisting the Japanese Intelligence in that area. Body had assistants but their names were not found on record."

Page 3721 :

"In connection with the dropping of three men by parachute near Harbin and Tiensin..... that Body, Itto or Indo having been arrested, their statement must have been recorded."

"Their statement would be either with the War Office, London or with the Joint Command at Tokyo."

Pages 3723-3724 :

"Later on it was detected by somebody that at 10-30 A.M. the plane was sighted in the air any time between 10 and 10-30. On that particular date it was not so important. It was taken as a message. Later on terrific weight was thrown on this."

On or about 28/29th August a news came through Reuter said that American correspondent declared that there was positive proof that Bose had been seen in Saigon a few days after the Japanese radio had announced his death.

An A.P.I. message issued from Madras on April 4 (1946) which says : "Subhas Chandra Bose is in Manchuria and doing well; it was revealed by Mr. K.E. Ganapathi, Secretary of the Publicity and Propaganda Department of the Azad Hindi Government and Director of the Azad Hindi press, in an interview to the A.P.I. :

"Mr. Ganapathi said that Bose is alive."

"He added that Sevika, a vernacular paper of Malaya, recently carried a news item from London dated March 27, 1946 which stated that Bose was heard over the radio from Manchuria."



On 4th April another message was issued by the A.P.I. from Lahore which reads : "Documentary evidence was quoted at a public meeting in Patiala last night to prove that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is alive. Dr. Akram Hussain, who claimed to have been treating Mr. Bose of liver and intestinal troubles, stated that after the announcement of Mr. Bose's death in a plane crash he received a telegram from Mr. Bose's personal adviser stating that Mr. Bose was alive and that he had retired to some safe place."

"In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not ask for his release. He might, of course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties but the security authorities consider that in certain circumstances his presence in Russia would be so dangerous as to rule it out altogether." (Top Secret letter dated 23-8-45 of R.F. Mudie, Home member, published in Transfer of Power).

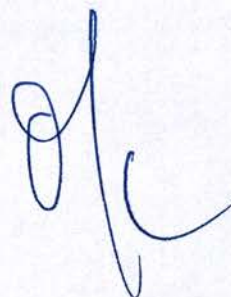
"There is, however, a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. He would come via Chitral. The information alleges that Gandhi and Sarat Bose are among those who are aware of this. It is probable that the letter from Bose arrived about the time Gandhi made his public statement..... on 7th January (1946) the Russian paper 'PRAVDA' denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before then, however, the Ghilzai Malang had been coupling a live Bose with Russia and in December (1945) a report said that the Governor of the Afghan Province of Khost had been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that there were many Congress refugees in Moscow and Bose was included in their number. There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories. At the same time, the view that Russian Officers are disclosing or alleging that Bose is in Moscow is supplied in a report received from Tehran. This states that Moradoff, the Russian Vice Consul General disclosed in March that Bose was in Russia, where he was secretly organising a group of Russians to work on the same lines as the I.N.A. for the freedom of India."

[Allied Secret Report No. 10/Misc/I.N.A. RP. - 38 & 39 ]



DOCUMENTS SUPPLIED TO COM. YURLOV on NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

1. Aide Memoire  
Subject: Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's alleged death in a plane crash
2. Material concerning Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's escape from India to Germany through Soviet Union in 1941.
3. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Russia
4. Netaji in China/Vietnam
5. Subhash Chandra Bose and Czechoslovakia
- 6 Netaji in Kabul
- 7 Forward Bloc's Central Committee's resolution on Netaji
8. Speech delivered by Dr. Nelson Mandela at Ranji Stadium, Calcutta  
on October 1990





(6)

Re: Material concerning Netaji Subhas chandra Bose's  
escape from India ~~and~~ to Germany through Soviet  
union in 1941

On 12-11-1980 at a meeting at the Ajay Bhavan, new Delhi, the head-  
quarters of the communist Party of India to pay homage to CPI's  
former General Secretary the late P.C.Joshi, Mr. C. Rajeshwara Rao,  
CPI general Secretary revealed that in 1941 P.C.Joshi and G. Annikari  
(Both of whom were Politbureau members of the Party) took decision  
on behalf of the Party Central Committee to help Netaji Subhas  
chandra Bose to send him out of India. A Communist functionary,  
Bhagatram Talwar was deputed for this purpose and he escorted  
Netaji to Kabul underground.

Rajeshwara Rao's revelation was reported by the Party's  
Hindi daily 'Janjug' (now defunct) of November 13, 1980.

Further, in June 1976 CPI's People's Publishing House published  
Bhagatram Talwar's book "The Talwar's of Pathan Land And Subhas  
Chandra's Great Escape" with a Foreword by Chinmohan Sehanovis, who  
during his lifetime was a top CPI leader in the Party's cultural  
Front. In this book Mr. Talwar gives day-to-day account of Netaji's  
escape and his efforts to contact Soviet diplomats and others in  
Kabul.

It will be appreciated if material relating to Netaji's  
safe passage through the Soviet Union to Germany and Italy, ~~it~~ must be  
available in the Soviet Archives, is very kindly made available to  
us to facilitate research work with a view to complete the study of  
the so-far-not-much-know period of Netaji's trip to Germany.

If the Soviet authorities offers kind help in ~~in~~ this regard,  
our party researchworkers will be extremely grateful.



The Hindustan Times  
5/3/90

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## Hindustan Times 5/3/90 **'Secret papers' on Netaji in USSR**

CALCUTTA, March 4 (HTC) The Soviet Government possesses certain secret documents which may shed new light on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Dr E. S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, told HT here today that two Soviet scholars, who had been working on the Indian leader, had applied to the Government for permission to examine the documents. The documents were categorised as "top secret" and had never been made accessible. The scholars were however hopeful of the USSR National Archives agreeing to make available the documents in the context of the glasnost prevailing in the country.

The Soviet scholar said a seminar would be held in Moscow in September 1991 on Dr B. R. Ambedkar to mark his centenary. The seminar would be devoted to two main parts, Dr Ambedkar and the Indian national liberation movement, and Dr Ambedkar and the Scheduled Castes in post-Independence India.

"The advent of the Bahujan Samaj Party, with its leader Kanshi Ram breathing hatred, is a disturbing development for Indian democracy," she said. "It is surprising that the Left Government, now 65 years old in India, has failed to assimilate the Scheduled Castes. The Movement has in fact ignored the problems of the Scheduled Castes and this failure is now being exploited by leaders like Mr Ram."

Dr I. M. Semashko of the Soviet

Institute of Ethnography, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, said cultural and physical anthropologists of the Institute had not come across any evidence of foreign involvement in the recent developments in the Asian ethnic republics of the USSR.

During their field studies the scholars however could feel rising discontentment among the ethnic population against the economic injustices being meted out to them. The consensus of the scholars was that the events which had been rocking the republics had emanated from the economic crisis in the USSR. The development of the Asian republics within the Soviet system had raised ethnic aspirations and as the Soviet economy began its downward slide during the last two decades, the people's aspirations increased bringing about an open and often violent expression of dissatisfaction. The high unemployment rate also served to heighten the crisis. Nationalists who were ignored during the period of social and economic reconstruction found at last a niche for themselves and further ignited the violence.

It was also widely felt that once the economic problems were tackled and the political reform programme undertaken under perestroika was completed, "all the ethnic problems would be solved."

She said that among the myriad changes occurring in the USSR, the Soviet Government's attitude to ethnography had also changed.



## নেতাজির অন্তর্ধান রহস্য □ ১

# ‘স্তালিনের নির্দেশে নেতাজিকে হত্যা করা হয়েছিল’

**অন্তিম লিখিত:** প্রাক্তন সুইডিশ রাষ্ট্রদূত মি. রাউলের মৃত্যু রহস্য উদ্ঘাটনের পথ ধরে নেতাজির অন্তর্ধান রহস্য উন্মোচনের চেষ্টা চলছে। স্তালিন সরকার ঘোষণা করেছিল, বন্দী অবস্থায় রাউল হৃদরোগে আক্রান্ত হয়ে মারা গেছেন। পরে প্রমাণিত হয়, তাকে গুলি করে হত্যা করা হয়েছিল।

সম্প্রতি, জার্মানির অগসবার্গে নেতাজি পত্নী এমিলি সেন্ডল বসুকে রাষ্ট্রদূত স্তালিন নামে এক অস্ত্রিয়ান সাংবাদিক জানিয়েছেন: বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় নেতাজি সুভাষচন্দ্র বসুর মৃত্যু হয়নি। ১৯৪৭ সালের কোনও এক সময় মস্তোকে স্তালিনের নির্দেশে তাকে গুলি করে মারা হয়েছিল। নেতাজি পত্নীর কাছ থেকে সুভাষচন্দ্র বসুর ভাইপো ডঃ অমিয়নাথ বসুও খবরটি জানতে পেরেছেন। কয়েকদিন আগে দিল্লিতে সাংবাদিকদের নেতাজি অন্তর্ধান সংক্রান্ত এই ‘নতুন’ খবরটি তিনি জানান।

শনিবার কলকাতার নাকতলার নেতাজি সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু রোডের বাসভবনে বসে তিনি বলেন, স্তালিন এখনও এ ব্যাপারে তথ্য দিতে পারেননি। তবে, আমরা নানা দিক থেকে তথ্য উদ্ধারের চেষ্টা চালচ্ছি। বিমান দুর্ঘটনায়

নেতাজির মৃত্যু হয়নি; এ ব্যাপারে আমরা নিশ্চিত। তবে, নেতাজির অন্তর্ধান রহস্য মোচনের ব্যাপারে ভারত সরকারের উদাসীনতায় তিনি যথেষ্ট ক্রুদ্ধ।

প্রসঙ্গত তিনি সুইডিশ রাষ্ট্রদূত মি. রাউলের হত্যার ঘটনাটি উল্লেখ করে বলেন, ‘ওই রাষ্ট্রদূতের পদবিটা মনে নেই। তবে, স্তালিন সরকার যে তাকে গুলি করে হত্যা করেছিল তা প্রমাণিত। এই রহস্য উদ্ঘাটন করেছেন আর এক প্রাক্তন সুইডিশ রাষ্ট্রদূত। তবে, বিশেষ কারণে সেই রাষ্ট্রদূতের নাম জানাননি।

গবেষক-লেখক এবং কলকাতার বঙ্গ লাইব্রেরির লেখা গান্ধীজির ঘনিষ্ঠ বুরশিদ নওরজিব একটি গোপন চিঠির নকল আমেরিকান আর্কাইভ থেকে অমিয়বাবু জোগাড় করেছেন। কিন্তু, এটি ফটো-কপি নয়। তবে নেতাজির মৃত্যু-রহস্য উদ্ঘাটনের ক্ষেত্রে এই চিঠিটি বিশেষ গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। সম্ভ্রতি, জার্মানির সবচেয়ে প্রভাবশালী পত্রিকাগোষ্ঠীর সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ করে তিনি ওই বিশেষ চিঠির নকলটি দেখান এবং আসল চিঠি বা তার ফটো-কপি উদ্ধারের অনুরোধ জানান। পত্রিকা কর্তৃপক্ষ প্রায় সঙ্গে সঙ্গে খোঁজ-খবর শুরু

করেছে বলে অমিয়বাবু জানান। ওই চিঠির বয়ান যদি সত্যি হয় তাহলে ১৯৪৬ সালে নেতাজি জীবিত ছিলেন। কেনন, চিঠির একটি অংশে বলা আছে, নেতাজি জীবিত। তিনি রাশিয়ায় আছেন। চিঠিটি লেখা হয়েছে ১৯৪৬ সালের ২২ জুলাই। অর্থাৎ, বিমান দুর্ঘটনাকে সত্য বলে মানলে নেতাজি ১৯৪৫ সালেই মারা গেছেন।

শুধু তাই নয়, ১৯৫৭ সালে জাপান গিয়ে ডঃ অমিয়নাথ বসু সাটো নামে একজনের (নেতাজি-রহস্যের ব্যাপারে যাদের সাক্ষা নেওয়া হয়েছিল ইনি তাদের একজন) মুহুর সময় বিমান বিধ্বংসী কামান চালতেন। সঙ্গে কথা বলেন। সাটো স্বীকার করেন ১৯৪৫ সালে তাইহকুতে কোনও বিমান দুর্ঘটনা হয়নি। আজও সেই কথা অমিয়বাবু কাছে ক্যাসেটে ধরা আছে। অবশ্য, সরকারি সাক্ষা দেওয়ার সময়ও এই সাটো দুইবার কথা অস্বীকার করেছিলেন।

অমিয়বাবু বলেন, সোভিয়েত নেতা স্তালিনের নির্দেশে সত্যিই নেতাজিকে হত্যা করা হয়েছিল কিনা তা তদন্ত করে দেখার জন্য জেনেভার ইন্টারন্যাশনাল সার্ভিস গার

হিউম্যান রাইটস সংগঠন আগ্রহ প্রকাশ করেছে। মি. রাউলের মৃত্যু-রহস্য তিনি উদ্ঘাটন করেছেন সেই প্রাক্তন সুইডিশ রাষ্ট্রদূতও এ বিষয়ে অনেক দূর এগিয়েছেন।

জানা গেল, গরবাচেভের ক্ষমতায় আসা এবং লাইপজিগে জার্মান কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির বিরুদ্ধে তীব্র আন্দোলন শুরুর পরই রাষ্ট্রদূত স্তালিন নেতাজি পত্নী এমিলি সেন্ডল বসুর অগসবার্গের বাড়িতে আসেন এবং স্তালিনের নির্দেশে নেতাজিকে হত্যা করা হয় বলে জানান। এমিলি বসু তার কাছে এর স্পষ্ট তথ্য জানে। পরে স্তালিন কিন্তু আর যোগাযোগ করেননি।

কিন্তু, স্তালিনের কথাটি এমিলি বসু বা অমিয়বাবু কেউই উড়িয়ে দিতে পারেননি। তবে কারণ, রাষ্ট্রদূত স্তালিন শুধু একজন সাংবাদিক নন। তিনি নাৎসি পার্টির একজন সক্রিয় সদস্য ছিলেন। ১৯৪২ সালে কোনও কারণে নাৎসি পার্টির সঙ্গে তার মেলোমেল হয়েছিল। তাকে প্রেস্ভার করা হয়। স্তালিনকে কুমার ডাকডাও কমসেনাট্রিশন ক্যাম্পে চালান করে দেওয়া হয়। এরপর বছর তিনেক

একপাশে রাখা হয়।

## নেতাজির অন্তর্ধান রহস্য

### ◆ প্রথম পাতার পর

কনসেনট্রেশন ক্যাম্পে যন্ত্রণা ভোগের পর তিনি মুক্তি পান ১৯৪৫ সালে। যোগ দেন জার্মান কমিউনিস্ট পার্টিতে।

১৯৬৮ সালে অস্ট্রিয়ার ভিয়েনা থেকে রাষ্ট্রদূত স্তালিনের জার্মান ভাষায় একটি বই বের হয়। নাম ‘টাইগার অ্যান্ড স্কাইল’ (Tiger und Schakal)। এই বইতে টাইগার সুভাষচন্দ্র এবং স্কাইল হিটলার বিষয়ে তথ্য সমেত আলোচনা আছে। ১৯৬৮ সালেও জার্মানিতে কমিউনিস্ট প্রতাপ ছিল। সম্ভবত সেই কারণেই, স্তালিন এই বইতে লিখেছিলেন, ১৯৪৫ সালে বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় নেতাজি মারা যান। পরে, বিশ্ববাসী কমিউনিস্টদের সংকট দেখে সাহস করে সত্য স্বীকার করে গেছেন এমিলি বোসের কাছে। অতীত, অমিয়বাবুর তাই ধারণা।

স্তালিনের কথা একেবারে উড়িয়ে দেওয়া যায়নি আরও একটি কারণে। জানা গেছে, একটা সময় সোভিয়েত গোয়েন্দা সংস্থা কে জি বি-৮ সঙ্গে তার ঘনিষ্ঠ যোগাযোগ ছিল। যুদ্ধের পর, নিজেদের বহু কুর্কীর্তি চাপা দিতে অনেক গোপন ফাইলপত্র, দলিল পুড়িয়ে ফেলেছিল কে জি বি। সেই সব ফাইলের ধ্বংসাবশেষের মধ্যে নেতাজি সংক্রান্ত ব্যাপারটিও থাকতে পারে। তবে, সে ব্যাপারে কোনও মন্তব্য করতে রাজি হননি অমিয়বাবু।

তবে, এর অনেক আগেই ১৯৪৯ সালে প্রয়াত শরৎচন্দ্র বসুও জানতে পেরেছিলেন, স্তালিনের নির্দেশে নেতাজিকে হত্যা করা হয়েছে, না হয় তাকে রাশিয়ার কোনও কনসেনট্রেশন ক্যাম্পে বন্দী করে রাখা হয়েছে। ওই বছর সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে তখনকার আমেরিকান ও জার্মান কনসাল জেনারেল শরৎচন্দ্র বসুর সঙ্গে দেখা করেন। তাঁরা শরৎবাবুকে জানান, বিশেষ কূটনৈতিক সূত্রে তারা এই খবর পেয়েছিলেন। এরপর এ বিষয়ে মস্তোর ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত ডঃ রাধাকৃষ্ণনকে শরৎবাবু বরভভাই প্যাটেল মারফত চিঠি পাঠান। সেই চিঠিতে নেতাজি সংক্রান্ত ‘সত্য’ খুঁজে বার করার অনুরোধ ছিল। একথা জানিয়ে অমিয় বসু বলেন, ১৯৫০ সালের ২০ ফেব্রুয়ারি বাবা মারা গেলেন। কিন্তু, মৃত্যুর আগে ডঃ রাধাকৃষ্ণনের কোনও উত্তর তিনি পাননি। তবে, বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় নেতাজি মারা যাননি। ১৯৪৬ সাল পর্যন্ত তিনি জীবিত ছিলেন। অতীত, বুরশিদ নওরজিব চিঠি তাই বলছে। (চলবে)



AIDL-MEMOIRE

SUBJECT: Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's alleged death in a plane crash.

Two official Inquiries have been carried out into the alleged death of Netaji in an air crash. The first by the SHAH NAWAZ COM ITTL in 1956 and the second by the KHOSLA COMMISSION in 1970. Both investigations reached the conclusion that Netaji died as a result of the reported crash in August 1945.

However, one of the three members of the Shah Nawaz Committee, namely one of Netaji's brothers, Suresh Chandra Bose, disagreed with the inferences of the other two; and in fact, produced a separate report challenging the official decree. The Government did not take any notice of this dissent.

And as for the Khosla Commission, it was asked to "Inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945, and the subsequent development connected herewith".

Instead, Justice G.D. KHOSLA concentrated as much on defending and eulogising Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the government of the day under India Gandhi and running down Netaji as confirming the Shah Nawaz verdict.



This commission was, perhaps, reluctantly appointed by the then minority Congress Government and presumably under pressure from Left forces, whose support in Parliament was crucial to its survival. There is, therefore, reason to suspect that what transpired was nothing but a command performance, thus rendering rather unreliable the conclusions reached.

Indeed, Shri Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India remarked in the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978, "Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradiction in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of these doubts and contradictions and these records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive".

The case in support of the death claim essentially rests on the depositions of Colonel Habibur Rehman, Netaji's ADC, who maintained that he accompanied the latter in the aircraft that allegedly crashed and that he was also treated at the hospital where Netaji, according to him, breathed his last; and the Japanese doctor, who submitted



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that he had attended to Netaji at the hospital, signed his death certificate as well as the application for a cremation of the remains to the relevant authority.

Even allowing for the fact that memories can fade the Shah Nawaz Committee was instituted eleven years after the crash is supposed to have occurred and the Khosla Commission between 25 to 29 years after the same-- the narrations of these two individuals were inconsistent and, therefore, inconclusive.

Colonel Rehman was interrogated twice regarding the air crash by British Intelligence and also appeared before the Shah Nawaz Committee. Not only do his versions of the incident -- vary in the three instances, but British Intelligence reports on him recorded: "It appears that Habibur Rehman is not willing to come out with the truth". (25 March, 1946) And: "Habibur Rehman's report is unsatisfactory. The multitude of discrepancies in accounts of actual air crash as given first to Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) in Tokyo and later to Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC) is being taken up" (19 May, 1946).

Netaji had, after the Japanese surrender in World War II, a definite plan to go underground. In fact, the Intelligence Bureau in New Delhi conveyed to its counterpart in Singapore on February 19, 1946: "It is beyond



doubt that he (Dose) had plans to go underground together with a selected number of friends of his movement". It is, therefore, not inconceivable that Colonel Rehman, being a most trusted deputy of Netaji, was fully conversant with and indeed part of this plan. Considering this background, he could hardly have been expected in 1956, when Netaji's return could not be ruled out, to betray the confidence placed in him by revealing the real story pertaining to the alleged plane crash. Colonel Rehman refused to come before the Khosla Commission.

Assuming that the doctor concerned did treat victims of the alleged crash, there is no irrefutable evidence that the person he believed to be Netaji was in fact the latter. Once more, his descriptions of the episode - the first to Allied Intelligence, the second to the Shah Nawaz Committee and the third to the Khosla Commission - did not entirely tally.

Furthermore, there is no documentary evidence that a plane crash actually took place at Taihoky on or around August 18, 1945, the site and date of the alleged tragedy. There is no record of a death certificate. There is no photograph of the dead body - Habibur Rehman admitted that he never saw the body. And last but not the least, the cremation certificate purported to be connected with Netaji's remains is in the name of one

...5/-



Ichiro Okura, born on April 9, 1900, described as a "non-regular staff member of (the Japanese) Armed Forces", who died of a "heart attack". The date of expiry is given as August 19, 1945.

Netaji was born on 23rd January, 1897. And if he at all died consequent to the plane crash, he could only have done so of third degree burns. Besides, the doctor insisted that he passed away on the night of August 18, 1945.

There was no logical reason for the Japanese authorities to conceal the incident of Netaji's death, if this was the intention by falsifying the cremation certificate.

Lord Wavell, then Viceroy of India, recorded in his diary on August 24, 1945: "I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground.

The British reaction to the Japanese Intelligence file on the alleged death was that it gave "an idea of a plan to allow Bose to escape and to publish a false story regarding his death".

Indeed, British Intelligence continued to believe that Netaji did not die in the alleged crash. On October



25, 1945, the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, chaired a meeting at 10 Downing Street, London to consider, among other items, what to do with Netaji in the post-war situation. The same day, the British Cabinet discussed a confidential note sent by Lord Wavell regarding the finalisation of a policy towards <sup>"Bose"</sup> ~~The~~ then Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in South East Asia, Lord Mountbatten's diary reveals that he received a despatch from the British Director of Military Intelligence after the news about Netaji's death was broadcast from Tokyo, which said: "When Bose was preparing to leave Burma with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family and remain in Burma. DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there and he subsequently escaped to Thailand. DMI has no evidence other than the intercept but is still convinced that he is correct".

Captain Biren Chakrabarty, an officer of the CODIC under the British, told the Khosla Commission: "On the 18th (August 1945) morning a message was received (from American Naval Intelligence) in the Red Fort relayed from Trincomalee, as far as I remember, stating that a twin engine bomber had been sighted and mentioning also the direction, altitude and speed of the aircraft. Military Intelligence (British) hurriedly looked into their records, held a court martial (?) and quickly



decided that this was probably an aircraft maintaining the line of communication and it should be allowed to pass, but should be kept under observation for a certain distance — reasonable distance. No importance was given to the information at the time. Later on, when other pieces of information were pouring in, particularly when the statements of responsible INA officers were being recorded, it was quickly ascertained that this particular message had a singular importance because this was the plane which took off with General Shidei at 10.30 and which tallied with all the information on record regarding the visit of Netaji and his party to the headquarters of (the Japanese) Field Marshal Terauchi.

"As far as I remember, on the 20th night a message was received from Macao about the parachute landing of three persons in the area between Harbin and Tientsin. Details were not known to any of the officers in the Red Fort. Later on, I heard from my colleagues in the CODIC that this area where the three persons had parachuted down was covered by the Japanese Intelligence Organisation under two officers, namely Itto and Indo-- one was a Captain and the other was a Lieutenant Colonel. At a further later stage, I heard that both the officers were arrested by the officers of the War Office, London or the Americans, who were in that area before landing on the Japanese mainland".

...8/-



IB, New Delhi, informed its corresponding station in Singapore on February 19, 1946 that the former's impression was "that the Japanese had undertaken to give Bose the necessary protection (to go underground)".

British Intelligence further believed that the Governor of the Afghan province of Khost had been informed by the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul that there were many Congress refugees in Moscow (after the War) and Bose was included in their number. The assessment being: "There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories".

As recently as 1966, a panel of Japanese war time aeronautical experts, after carefully examining the evidence of those who described themselves as survivors of the plane crash in question, observed: "The entire Japanese air operation before and during the Pacific War did not record any case of a propeller falling out during take-off (which is what the disaster was attributed to be). If the plane dived to the ground (as was claimed), it could have smashed itself into bits, killing all aboard instantly".

Intriguingly, no foreign government has, till date, declared Subhas Chandra Bose as dead.



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Enclosed herewith is a list of documents and other material likely to be available with the Government and/or the mentioned foreign governments, which could indeed provide the missing links and possibly help to solve the mystery once and for all.



SPEECH DELIVERED BY DR NELSON MANDELA AT THE RANJI STADIUM  
CALCUTTA ON THURSDAY OCTOBER 18, 1990

Dear Friends, Sistens and Brothers.

We are deeply touched by the warm welcome extended to us today in Calcutta. It is our first visit to India and to this City. But everywhere we have been, since our arrival on Monday, in Delhi, Agra, Varanasi - We have been overwhelmed by the kindness and honours leaped on the personally and our Organisation the African National Congress. We salute you, we thank you.

We understand that the deep regard you are demonstrating to us, is also an acknowledgement of the long and close ties that bind you to the struggling people of South Africa.

We bow in respectful derefence to all off you who had come to be with us in this rally. The welcome accorded us in the streets of this Great City today convinces us that we have come home and that here we are among our fellow revolutionaries.

Calcutta is to us a great world revolutionary Centre and we record with pride that it was this part of India which led the opressed of your country with militant resistance against the imperialist assault on human dignity. We will remember for All times that you had already adopted the boycott weapon against our common oppressor even before the Mahatma had launched his first passive resistance campaign against the evils of racism, which had manifested its great evil in our land.

Your heroes of those days became our heroes. Netaji Subash Chandra Bose was indeed among the great persons of the world whom we black students regarded as much our leader as yours.

Indeed Netaji united all militant youth of all the colonially oppressed world. We followed with pride his great contribution, as we did that of the Mahatma and the Nehru.



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And we were moved deeply by Rabindranath Tagore that great holistic man, to the whole of humanity and to the "wretched of the world in particular". He became our joint heritage. Tagore's immortal works are acknowledged universally as a great contribution to world culture.

Our Gandhiji rightly regarded your Tagore as his Guru and the world accepted these two among those gifts of God to the twentieth century.

We record, too, that Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's first political activity was with the revolutionaries of your great Bengal, a Bengal which has enriched the world with its literature, its great intellect, but above all its revolutionary militancy to end imperialism.

You were challenging the evils of British imperialism from this very place, Calcutta, where the British had established their capital, their regional centre of oppression.

When the cry of "Inqilab Zindabad" - Longlive revolution - reached us in South Africa, we too thought of Calcutta's role and Bengals militancy was also our own.

Your martyrs became our martyrs, and vice-versa.

Our links began as early as 1652 when Van Riebeeck came to our country from Sumatra, a Dutch possession in the East. In his ships' hold were eastern slaves, some of the graves of these freedom fighters are in Robben Island, where we too suffered long years of imprisonment.

Historical research reveals that fifty one percent of the slaves of the Cape in its early years came from your Bengal. These slaves played a leading part in the development of the Afrikaans language and South African culture as a whole soon, all of us will be celebrating the dawn of freedom together in South Africa.

The contract labourers from India came in ships departing from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The descendants of these workers, those serfs, are to-day very much part of the African National Congress, as are the descendants of those who came as paying passengers.



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Indians and Africans became the joint victims of racist oppression. Gandhi's natal Indian Congress was formed in 1894. Eighteen years later in 1912 the African National Congress was established.

Since then the unity between our people have been proved in action, you are familiar with our history of struggle. The names Dadoo, Naicker, Cachalia and so on are part and parcel of and history up to the very present time.

Now I want to speak to you from my heart.



## CHINA IN THE CHANGING COMMUNIST WORLD

- Chitta Basu

Communist world has, of late, witnessed very strong winds of changes. And crucial changes have taken place in some of the East European communist party-ruled States, in some cases; in conspicuously of directly opposite direction. Even significant and far reaching changes in the world outlook and attitudes towards classical marxism-Leninism are discerned in the deliberations of the recently concluded twenty-eighth Congress of the CPSU, the first and pioneering socialist state with experiences of more than seven decades. But, contrary to the general trends of back tracking, the stances of the Communist party of China, remain, by and large unsusceptible and unvelnerable. This fact would naturally would evoke great interests among the field activities of the Communist movement as, well as thereotecians of marxism-leninism of different shades in India, as well as Government policies.

2. The Tienanmene episode of April-June last year, although described officially as 'turmoil' and the 'counter-revolutionary' rebellion, has woken up the party leadership about the hidden danger of the bourgeois liberalisation, in the chinese society, after the adoption of the policy of reforms and opening to the outside world in 1978. The media has undertaken a vigorous campaign against the trend of liberalisation. Series of articles started being published in the Beijing Review, the China's official current Affairs magazine, immediately after the



leadership could take a firm political position in regard to the democracy movement of Chinese students. The articles attribute the genesis of the trend of liberalisation, which are described as bourgeois, to the sustained campaign launched by U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dules during 1953-57 which asserted that it was the established policy of the United States to promote 'liberalisation' in the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, basing on the hope on the third and fourth generations in these countries. The Beijing Review quoted Mr. Dules as saying way back in 1953 "We must always have in mind the liberation of these captive peoples. Now liberation does not mean a war of liberation, Liberation can be accomplished by process short of war." Obviously, he meant about liberation of the people of the Socialist Countries. Mr. Dules is further quoted to have said, "It must be and can be a peaceful process, but those who do not believe that results can be accomplished by more pressure, by weight of propaganda, just do not know what they are talking about." To further reinforce the point, the Beijing Review .. refers to the statement of another U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson on July 30, 1949, even before the birth of the peoples Republic in a Letter of Transmittal to President Harry S. Trueman declaring that "ultimately the profound civilisation and democratic individualism of China will reassert themselves." Fundamentally basing on this understanding of the genesis of the liberalisation trend, the present leadership firmly asserts



that 'worship' of so-called 'democracy' and 'freedom' of Western countries negate the socialism. The reiteration of the four cardinal principles (adherence to the socialist road, to the Communist Party's leadership, to the People's democratic dictatorship and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought) for the conducting the business of the Govt. and party affairs is believed to be the antidote to the drift to the bourgeois liberalisation. The leadership of CCP claims that reliance on these cardinal principles would safeguard the building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology. They assert that bourgeois liberalisation which means negating the socialist system in favour of capitalism is in total contradiction to the people's interest, and also to the trend of history. According to Deng Xiaping, even now considered to be the great helmsman by broad masses of Chinese people (since retired from all party and Government posts), 'liberalisation' means by itself, confrontation with, opposition to, or revision of current policies and system of China. More categorically and precisely, he expressed himself saying that 'liberalisation' would lead China on to the 'capitalist road'.

'Ideologisation' process based on class approach of conducting the state affairs including of the Army, appears to have been accelerated after the Tienanmen unfortunate episode, as opposed to the de-ideologation process currently on in the European

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countries. The party documents reiterate that class struggle exists even after the success of revolution, which necessitates ideologisation and reactivation of the Party cells in all Government departments and public enterprises, collectives, cooperatives, and joint enterprises. One of the lessons drawn from April-June turmoil, the CPC leadership claims, is the imperative need to carry on the class struggles in the ideological field. The root cause of the turmoil, they admit, is the failure to correctly guide the class struggle on ideological level and mistaken approach of Zhao Ziang, the deposed General Secretary of the Party.

Patriotism is sought to be made synonymous with socialism among the youth masses, particularly the young intellectuals, with special emphasis on the university students.

Re emphasis on the political and ideological education of the 4.1 million membership of the party and reorientation of the style of functioning at all levels are considered imperative to ensure the socialist reconstruction with chinese characteristics, which remains to be unending refrain in ideological indoctrination, while such efforts on the part of the communist parties in East Europe have been relegated to back seats, if not completely eliminated.

Another important lesson, the leadership appears to have drawn is the fact that the conflict between bourgeois libera-



lisation and four cardinal principles, is not only ideological and theoretical struggle, but political struggle, whose quintessence is whether to defend socialist system or subvert it. And this struggle brooks no compromise and the struggle will be long protracted.

### 3. Leading role of the Party:-

Political pluralism is now an important aspect in the renewal process now on within the most of the communist parties in East Europe including Soviet Union. The concrete and practical perception of political pluralism is in general either multi-party or bi-party parliamentary system which has taken shape in the western democracies over the decades. Many of the communist parties in East Europe have chosen to switch over to that system of parliamentary democracy and participated in the recently held election. The 28th Congress of the CPSU has decided to initiate legislative measures to do away the article 6 of the Soviet Constitution which constitutionally guaranteed the leading role of the CPSU and resolved to restructure itself as a parliamentary party dedicated to pursue the aim of humane, democratic, socialism.\* The CPSU platform states, "The CPSU does not claim a monopoly and is prepared for a political dialogue and cooperation with every one who favours the renewal of socialist society." It again states, "We should combine the advantages of the Soviet system with advantages



of parliamentarism. As a matter of fact, three distinct political platforms have emerged in the deliberations of the Congress. They may broadly categorised as : (1) Toward human democratic socialism represented by CPSU Central Committee led by Mr. Gorbachev, 2) Democratic platform within CPSU represented by Mr. Yeltsin and 3) Marxist platform within CPSU led by Mr. L, gachev and others.

The CPSU platform (Gorbachev) declares that "the way out of the crisis lies in the consistent implementation of economic and political reforms in the resolute rejection of the Stalinist essentially, unitary model of State structure and in the complete and invariable implementation of the principle of federalism." It goes on to state, "the party seeks to place man at the centre of social development, providing him with worthy living and working conditions, guaranteeing him social justice, political liberty, and possibilities for comprehensive development and spiritual fulfilment and regards this as its main goal." It sums upto say, "Our ideal is a humane, democratic socialism."

The position of the democratic platform within CPSU (Yeltsin), however, questions some of the basic and fundamental tenets of Marxism - Leninism. Its basic premise is : "It is necessary to basically re-examine the dogmatic notions of the historical mission of the working class, of the dictatorship of the proletariate, of the inevitability and necessity of



socialist revolutions of socialism without market mechanism, of the possibility of peoples' sovereignty without political pluralism, of the natural growth of the leading role of the ruling communist parties, of primacy of social interests above personal and international above national." The platform's main thrust is the radical perestroika. It is clear when it states, "Millions of Soviet people are convinced that without restructuring the CPSU itself on a democratic basis, it would be impossible to guarantee transfer of all power to the Soviets and in that way bring about radical 'Perestroika' of the society." To achieve the objective of the radical 'Perestroika' the platform proposes the basic democratic reform of the CPSU, it therefore states, "Therefore, in the present stage what is absolutely essential is not the improvement and perfection of the existing party structure and relations, but a basic democratic reform resulting in transition of a totalitarian model of the party into a modern democratic model of the party of parliamentary type within a framework of multi-party system." The platform ends with a catalogue of proposals for the radical reform of the CPSU.

The adherents of this platform left the CPSU towards the end of the 28th congress deliberations and presumably are engaged in the preparatory activities for a new political formation.

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As against both the platforms, the Marxist platform emerged with affirmation of faith in the marxism - Leninism. Its fundamental premise is classical marxism. It begins with the statement of the objective which runs as follows: "We are for a return to classical Marxism, which implies a critical attitude towards the theoretical heritage of its founders and their followers, and a stable revolutionary theoretical basis to scientific socialism in keeping with the changing world." It ends with the call of a democratic movement on marxist ideology. It states, "We believe that only a democratic movement, ideologically Marxist, and oriented towards a socialist choice is the basic interest of society".

The chinese approach to these issues (multi-party system, parliamentary democracy etc.) is altogether different. Their perception of political pluralism is limited within the confines of the long standing system and practices of Multi party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist party - an institutionalised system with some degree of constitutional sanction. For the purpose of cooperation and consultation, they recognise eight democratic parties. Procedure and guidelines are set for the cooperation and consultation take place at regular intervals on the basis of such set procedure. But the leading role of the communist party is irrevocably accepted by all. The official document outlining the guidelines of the system as formulated as recently as December 30, 1989 deals with the historical

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perspective and current practices of the system. It states, "such a system of political parties as practised in China is a characteristic as well as strong point of the country's political system. It is fundamentally different from the Multi-party or bi-partisan system in the Western capitalist countries. It also differs from the one-party system practised in some other socialist countries. As a socialist system of political parties which suits China's conditions, it turned out to be a creation effected by integrating Marxism-Leninism with China's revolution and construction. To persist in and improve the system is a major aspect of China's political restructuring. It is essential to consolidating and broadening the patriotic united front, promoting socialist democracy, enhancing the great unity of the people of all nationalities in the country, as well as realising the general task of the communist party and the State.

Analysing the historical background of the system, the document further states, "The system of multi-Party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC has sprung and grown on Chinese soil. It is the result of integrating the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice, and is a socialist political party system which suits China's conditions. It is one of the basic political institutions of China." The document proceeding further, states, "All the democratic parties accept the leadership of the CPC and conduct mutual supervision with the

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communist party. The core of leadership of the CPC has taken shape through long years of revolutionary struggle and is the historical choice of the people of various nationalities in China, including that of the democratic parties. This leading position has been affirmed in China's constitution. China's political party system is one of multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the Communist party, not of many parties ruling in turn which reject the leadership of the party".

It is, thus abundantly clear that leading role of the CPC is permanent, and constitutionally recognised. It is unalterable.

There are therefore, differences of the CPC and CPSU and other communist parties of Eastern Europe and all other western democracies. In course of extensive discussions with the CPC leadership, it was clear that they do not think of changing any aspects of the leadership role of the CPC, even after the recent experiences in European countries including Soviet Union.



## II. China in the Changing Communist World II

- Chitta Basu.

The recent convulsions in the East Europe have led to the changes of nomenclatures and character of States. The CPC not only adheres to the earlier ones, (nomenclature and character of state) but firmly rejects any change in future despite the 'democracy movement' of the students. Constitution provides that the peoples 'Republic of China is a socialist state under the peoples' democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. This means that communist party's role is decisively, 'leading' in all State organs including the Army. Jiang Zemin, the General Secretary of the CCP has recently restated, that the absolute leadership of the Communist Party over the Army was the pre-requisite for strengthening the nation's defence (China Daily August 1, 1990). The Communist Parties of Europe, however, by and large, have abandoned the perception of the 'dictatorship of Proletariate' hitherto a common communist parlance, like not potatoes, to sell their democratic appearances.

In so far as principle of democratic principles, CPSU's Central Committee's platform appears to be ambivalent. It states, "There is a need for rethinking of the principle of democratic centralism. It should no longer be treated in such a way that it can be used to implement barrack-room, hierarchical discipline." Similarly, the Democratic platform



within CPSU, altogether rejects it and states, that 'the Chief cementing link in the non-democratic character of the party as well as in the entire political system, happens to be the principle of democratic centralism.' It demands the 'replacement of the principle of democratic Centralism by the fundamental democratic principle (electivity, openness, removalality, submission of minority to the majority with the constitutional guarantee of the protection of the rights of minority.).

All these underscore the essentially fundamental differences among European communist parties, CPSU and the Communist Party of China. The spokesman of the International Liaison Department of the CCP described the East European changes as "peaceful evolution of capitalism." The reunification of two Germanies is worthing but 'annexation' of East Germany by the west Germany. This clearly reflects the ideological position of the CPC in respect of the recent changes in the East European Countries.

#### Economic Reforms:-

The current perception of the economic reforms and opening to the outside world, the two fundamental premises on which the CPC seeks to build the socialist economy with Chinese characteristics, is rooted in the two basic ideas of

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're-understanding and reassessment of 'modern capitalism' and 'primary stage of socialism' in China.

The Communist Party of China claims that a fundamentally socialist and political system has been established, exploitation and classes have been abolished, the economic base of the state has enormously grown and educational, scientific and cultural development made significant progress after the Revolution in 1949. Such achievements in an extremely backward country like China, are undoubtedly great and provide lessons to underdeveloped countries. This demonstrates the superiority of socialist system. But the socialist system has not been able to bring all the Productive forces into full play. There remains a big gap between the actual achievements and theoretically visualised potentials of socialism. The CPC identifies two reasons for this gap - the semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of Chinese society and 'ultra left' mistakes of 'cultural revolution' of 1966-76. The mistakes were due to absolute negative attitude towards capitalism and lack of scientific assessment of the role of capitalism in China resulting in attempts at bypassing the positive role of capitalism in the socialist reconstruction in semi-colonial and semi-feudal relation of production in China. The concept of 'primary stage of Socialism' in China arises from this

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concrete realities the CPC adds. The CPC, now, therefore, asserts "as socialism can only be built on the foundations of previous social development, the two systems will exist side by side for a considerable period of time." And it further asserts that it will "adhere to the socialist principles of predominantly retaining public ownership and the common prosperity while fostering contact with capitalism in areas we share."

This is a new approach, and success attained will blaze a new path for the socialist reconstruction for the under-developed countries. There may be pitfalls, of deviations and departures from the basic line, but the guarantee can be provided only by the unity, stability of the party.

A strong tempo of development and investment does not escape the notice of any foreign visitor. As a matter of fact, some foreign visitors observed in the Chinese Press that whole China seemed to be a vast construction site'. The Government of China are assiduously flirting foreign investment particularly, in 'the special Economic Zones' and 'Economic and Technology areas' specially designed areas of the country. 'To get rich' is not a dirty word, today

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in China in construction. With this tempo of production and investment and urge to acquire prosperity, the economic inequality is likely to be generated among different segments of society. Signs of income inequality may be noticed by any careful observer. When pointed out, the spokesmen of the CPC, explained that the socialist economic system, being dominant (only six percent of total economy under the control of private sector) is and will be in a position to meet the situation and preserve the socialist system. The investment and the technology upgradation would, on the other hand, create preconditions for the common prosperity of China.

#### Sino-Soviet Relations:

Differences in approaches to the multi-faceted problems facing the international communist movement today between the CPC and CPSU remain. But the CPC leadership seems obviously reluctant in the resumption of polemics as of earlier days. On the other hand the Chinese leadership expresses happiness over the resumption of the party to party relations between the CPSU and CPC after long spell of suspension and bitter ideological polemics.

#### India-China Relations:

Apart from historical cultural relations between India and China, there are similarities of the problems of socio-

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economic nature, facing the two countries, of vast territory and population, the problem of poverty, being very much glaring. Dissimilarities in the political and economic system, notwithstanding, both the Government might benefit by mutual exchanges of experiences in respect of reconstruction, and development strategies, Chinese side showed keen interests in this area. India, we feel should respond positively. The CPC leaders appreciate the Government of India's stance for the improvement of bilateral relations in general and resolve to settle the border disputes between the two countries through dialogues and peaceful means. It is further to be noted that despite the keenness of China to maintain friendly relations with Pakistan, Chinese stand in respect of Kashmir problem, the long standing disputes between India and Pakistan, has undergone qualitative change in as much as that China now does not insist on the 'self-autonomy of Kashmiries'. China now favours resolution of the problem through bilateral negotiations. India should take proper note of this change and further cultivate China in order to improve and further deepen the bilateral relations in the interest of promoting third world unity and solidarity and regional stability.

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The author is the General Secretary of the Forward Bloc and led a party delegation visiting China from July 20 to August 3.



PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



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Comrade Mekhail Gorbachev  
President of U S S R  
General Secretary of the  
CPSU Central Committee  
MOSCOW  
U. S. S. R.

November 5/1988

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Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

Kindly accept my hearty greetings for the innovation of the new revolutionary concepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika'. Your bold move will liberate the eclipsed image of the Russian Revolution and create a new hope of moving towards a new horizon of human liberty and progress.

I am a socialist but not a Communist. However, I always shared the views of my leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Russian Revolution should be looked upon as the most significant landmark in the history of evolution of human civilisation. Our anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation was immensely influenced by the heritage of 1917 Russian Revolution. But the Stalin-era of absolute rigour and repression in Russia raised many questions in the mind of Indian people about the Soviet System.

Your recent crusade for nuclear-arm-free world peace and your daring precepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika', to remodel the Stalinist polity and economic system of Soviet Russia have created a universal feeling of appreciation and hope all over the world. If your far-sighted move succeeds, it will open a new era of peace, amity and international understanding.

How the Indian people wish that the Nobel peace Prize be presented to you and you be hailed as the Man of Peace and Progress of the world!

While sincerely congratulating you for your policy of 'Openness' I am placing before you an earnest request for opening the mystery about the fate of the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom, Subhas Chandra Bose, whose image is as captivating for the Indian people as that of Mahatma Gandhi.





After fall of Japan on 15th August, 1945, Tokyo Radio reported on 23rd August 1945 that Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the State of the Government of Free India, died in a plane crash at Taihoku (Taipei) in Formosa (Taiwan) on 18th August 1945. The report was considered by the British Government and the Indian people as a palpably fake news intended to cover Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia via Manchuria and across the territory of Siberia.

The reasons for the belief that Bose escaped to Russia are following :

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, twice elected President of the Indian National Congress, always considered Soviet Russia as the greatest ally of the struggle for Indian freedom.
2. During the War days Bose tried to establish contact with Stalin through British Communist Party.
3. While escaping from British prison and British India, in January 1941, Bose intended to go to Russia while reaching Kabul but without getting necessary response from Stalin, he had to move to Berlin across the Russian territory in a tactical bid to use Axis Power, the enemy of the British Imperialism, for securing Indian freedom.
4. Although Bose had his collaboration with the Axis Power to wage revolutionary war against British Imperialism for the national liberation of India, he never uttered a word against Russia during the War days nor acted in anyway against Russian interest. When Hitler treacherously attacked Russia, - Bose, who was then in Berlin, did not fear to take immense risk to denouncing it as an 'imperialist war against Russia', in his letter to Nazi Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop. Bose did not allow his revolutionary army, organised in Germany, to fight against the Russians.
5. After German aggression of Russia, Subhas Bose made an unprecedented 3-month submarine dash from Germany to Singapore to join hands with Japan, because Japan was then at war with the British but it had its friendly tie with Soviet Russia.





6. While waging revolutionary war of Indian Liberation against the British across the eastern border of India, Bose always tried to maintain contact with the Russian leaders through Jacob Malik, - the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo.

7. Major General Isoda and Col. Tada of the Headquarter of Field Marshall Tarauchi at Saigon, who were entrusted by Japan for ensuring safe escape of Subhas Bose from being arrested by the British Army, admitted before the 'Commission of Inquiry about Disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose' that Japan agreed to Bose's request to airlift him to Manchuria so that he could take political asylum in Russia by crossing into the Siberian territory. Accordingly, Bose was escorted to Manchuria by Gen. Shedie of the Jap Army.

8. Two months after the report of Bose's death in an aircrash in Taipei, the Home Minister of the British Government in India informed the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee in a secret report (1945) :

"Subhas Bose might, of course in certain circumstances, be welcomed in Russia. The easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release."

9. During the early part of 1946, a secret report sent to the British Viceroy in India by its intelligence stated :

"There is a secret report which says, Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and wanted to escape to India."

10. In another secret report to the British Government by its intelligence said :

"Ghilazi Malang had been coupling with live Bose in Russia, and in December (1945) a report said the Governor of Afgan Province 'Khost' has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that there are many Congress refugees in Moscow and Bose was included in their number. There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories."

"At the same time views that Russian officers are disclosing or alleging that Bose is in Moscow is supplied in a report received from Teharan. This stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia."

11. Another intelligence report received in Delhi on December 26, 1945 said :





"Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Dairen (in Manchuria) at 1.30 afternoon on August 23, 1945. Bose got into a jeep and proceeded toward Russian territory. After 3 hours the jeep returned and informed pilot of the plane who flew back to Tokyo." (On this day i.e. after Bose's escape to Russia Tokyo Radio reported Bose's death in an air crash at Taipei).

12. The Inter-Pole, an welknown world secret service published a report in India that Subhas Bose went to Russia after fall of Japan.

13. Many other reports appeared in the Indian press about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. These reports said that Bose was first a free man in Russia but later he was sent to a Siberian Concentration Camp.

14. Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador in Moscow, confided his close friends Dr. S.Das, then head of Philosophy Deptt. in Calcutta University and Dr. R.C.Majumdar, the most distinguished Indian historian of his time that he came to know that Bose was kept captive in Stalin's Russia.

15. Recently, I have came across of a very important report about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia in 1961, from an Indian engineer, A.Sarkar, of Calcutta. Sarkar was sent to Russia 3 times for training in connection with the Heavy Engineering Corporation for manufacturing heavy machinery, set up in collaboration with Russia. Sarkar learnt Russian well.

Sarkar worked in Machine Building Plant at Gorlovska near the city Doniesk. He came in contact of a German-Jew who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant (Machinosttroitelinizavod). His name was B.A.Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany.

Zerobin told Sarkar that he was captured in Berlin after fall of Germany and was sent to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. He was first taken to Siberia by train and thereafter flown to an undisclosed place and then taken to the Orientation Camp. Zerobin surmised that the Camp was somewhere near Siberian-Mongolian boarder.

Zerobin claimed that in this re-orientation camp, meant for political classes for only top foreign politicians and engineers, he met Subhas Bose on two occasions.





Zerobin could recognise Bose as he saw him earlier in Berlin during the War days. Bose's Headquarter was then in Berlin. Because of the handsome appearance and rare cut-out of the feature of his distinguished personality Zerobin could immediately recognise Bose.

According to Zerobin, Bose was brought to the Camp in a car accompanied by 2 Mongolians, one as his interpreter. Zerobin believed that both the Mongolians were KGB men but it appeared to him that Bose was well looked after.

Zerobin told Bose, "Sir, I met you in Berlin." Bose replied, 'Quite likely'.

Bose asked Zerobin: "What are you doing here?"

Zerobin : "I don't know what for".

Zerobin again asked Bose, "What is your programme? Are you going back to India?"

Bose : "I expect it to be soon."

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, the Mongolian interpreter, intervened saying, 'Not allowed'.

Zerobin never met Bose thereafter in the Camp.

Zerobin while disclosing his meeting with Subhas Bose warned Sarkar that he should not to disclose it while in Russia as it would endanger both.

Sarkar told about the matter to the Second Secretary of the Indian Embassy in Moscow, who also warned him of the dire consequence if he disclosed it to any body.

Sarkar recently told me about Bose's presence in Russia till 1961 in a particular circumstances as he is now out of Government service and believes that Zerobin is now dead.

Comrade Gorbachev! You have taken many bold steps in disclosing many suppressed facts of horror and repression of the Stalin days. You have done great justice to history by rehabilitating Trotsky and Bhukharin and restoring honour to the great scientist, Prof. Sakharov. Inspired by your great liberal policy of 'Glasnost', I would make an appeal - an appeal from the depth of my soul to you - on behalf of the patriotic people of India to reveal all facts about the universally adored hero of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose.





Stalin might have done injustice to the legendary hero of Indian freedom, but why would you not reveal it now? Bose was a Promethean hero of Indian Revolution who staked everything for the liberation of his motherland and who was always very friendly with Russia. Why should you not let the India people know what happened to their enterpid national hero? We in India believe you to be a man of great vision and human feeling. If you let the Indian people know all about the presence of Subhas Bose in Russia, you will win the hearts of millions of millions of the people of India.

When Comrade Brezhnev visited India in November, 1973, I met him in the President's House as the leader of the Socialist Party in the Indian Parliament and gave him a letter seeking informations about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. The letter was acknowledged but not replied. (A copy of the letter is enclosed).

Considering the poignancy of the issue involved about our greatest national hero, I hope you will excuse me for addressing this long letter to you.

I am eagerly expecting your reply before your visit to India.  
With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

Former leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Encl: As stated.



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ABOUT SAMAR GUHA THE WRITER OF THE LETTER

Professor Samar Guha, the writer of this letter, is now 71. He is an old revolutionary and an associate of Subhas Chandra Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan.

Prof. Guha had been in detention and prison for about 11 years during the days of British Rule in India. He had been also in Pakistan prison and many times in prisons in Free India in connection with people's movement.

Prof. Guha is a Chemistry Scholar, author of many books and former teacher of Chemistry of Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

Prof. Guha was 3-times elected to the Indian Parliament from Bengal. He was the leader of the Socialist Party in Parliament and 3-time Chairman of the Privilege Committee of the House of People, - the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament.

Prof. Guha was a member of the highest committee of Forward Bloc (S), and Socialist Party and still continues to be in the highest body of the present Janata Party.



50-M, Vittal Marg,  
Chanakyaपुरी,  
New Delhi - 110021.

April 14, 1987.

Dear Comrade Chitta Basu,

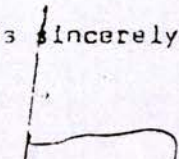
Kindly refer to your letter dated the 26th March, 1987.

Recently I had been to Prague and met Dr. Jiřoslav Křasá there. He informed me that your letter had reached him and that he was doing his best to locate and secure for you the documents relating to the activities of Netaji Mahatma Chandra Bose in Czechoslovakia.

As you will appreciate, the documentation would require at least some time. Dr. Křasá has assured me that he would directly contact you when it is ready.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
(Dr. Jaromír Nehenra)  
Ambassador of the CSSR

Comrade Chitta Basu, M.P.  
General Secretary,  
All India Forward Bloc,  
28, Gurdwara Rakabganj Road,  
New Delhi.



Y.M. TIWARI  
JOINT SECRETARY (EE)

भारत-देश-विदेश-संबंधी-विभाग-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-11

No. 34712 -JS(EE)/87

June 10, 1987

Dear Shri Basu,

Prime Minister had desired that the Ministry of External Affairs should take up the question of archival material on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose reportedly in possession of Czechoslovak Academy of Science and other museums.

Our Ambassador in Prague discussed the subject with Dr. Miloslav Krasa of the Oriental Institute, the academician who had informed you about this material by his letter of 23.3.87.

Ambassador was informed that Dr. Krasa would be happy to assist in obtaining these papers specially in view of his very close association with the National Archives of India. He added that some of the documents have already been supplied to Netaji Research Bureau in Calcutta. By end of June, Dr. Krasa expects to complete the compilation of a more complete list of documents available in Czechoslovakia in different museum etc. which could be of interest. Dr. Krasa also mentioned that he was already in touch with Dr. Sisir Bose, Netaji's nephew and many other scholars.

I may add that since Czechoslovak Government attaches great importance to these documents, it may not be possible to get the original documents and we may have to accept copies. This is generally the procedure adopted in such cases.

We will keep you informed of further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Y.M. Tiwari*

(Y.M. Tiwari)

Shri Chitta Basu, M.P.,  
28 Gurdwara Rakabgunj Road,  
New Delhi.



Dr Miloslav Krása c/o

Československá akademie věd  
ORIENTÁLNÍ ÚSTAV

118 37 Praha 1 - Malá Strana  
Lázeňská 4  
Tel. 53 30 51

Home address: Ke Krči 14  
14700 Prague 4  
Czechoslovakia

21

V Praze dne 23-3-1987

C. 147/87

Václav

TO

Shri Chitta Basu, M.P.,  
Gen. Secy All India Forward Bloc,  
28, Gurdwara Rakabganj Rd.,  
NEW DELHI / India

Dear Mr Basu,

Thank you for your kind letter dated February 10, 1987 which reached my hand with some delay due to my temporary absence in the Institute. I am also pleased by your interest in my paper on Netaji's activities in Czechoslovakia which I hope to prepare for the press during this year. It is based on our archival sources and documentation /in the Czech language/ as well as on Bose's letters written mainly to Professor Lesný and preserved now in the Central Archives of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. In the State /National/ Archives there are moreover some police instructions and reports relating to Subhas Chandra Bose's and Vithalbhai Patel's visits to the West-Bohemian spas /also in Czech/ and in the Archives of the Chancellory of the President of the Republic the telegram by S.C. Bose as Congress President sent to Dr Beneš during the European Crisis in 1938, is kept.

All this material I am using and partly reproducing in my above mentioned synthetic paper, the main outline of which I presented in my "Netaji Oration 1987" at the opening ceremony of the 6th International Netaji Seminar in Netaji Bhavan and later in my lecture in the Netaji Institute for Asian Studies /Sarat Bose Bhavan/ in Calcutta in January. I am in touch with these institutes and I have already promised to prepare the complete set of all relevant documents and correspondence to be edited in English by them. As a matter of fact some of the Prague photographs and copies of documents including the missing issues of Azad Hind /published from Berlin/ and kept in the State Library in Prague I already presented to Netaji Research Bureau at one of the earlier occasions.

I shall be only glad, dear Mr Basu, to let you have personally my paper on Netaji as soon as it is finished. S.C. Bose's pre-war contacts with our country are indeed a bright Chapter in Indo-Czechoslovak relations.

With best regards.



# ALL INDIA FORWARD BLOC

28, GURDWARA RAKABGANJ ROAD,  
NEW DELHI.

Ref. No.....

Date 10.2.1987

Dear Dr. Kras,

I enclose herewith a Press Clipping of 'Statesman', Calcutta dated 23rd January, 1987. The Press Report suggests that some hitherto unpublished correspondence by and documentation on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is being preserved at the National Archives and the Chancellory at Prague, Czechoslovakia. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose founded our Party and as such, we are interested to know the details of his activities abroad. I shall be very much glad if you kindly help me to secure the documentation for our use in this country. I met the Ambassador of your country in India, Dr. Jaromir Nehera and expressed my desire to him.

I shall be very much obliged if I am favoured with an early reply.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

en cl: as above.

(Chitta Basu)  
General Secretary  
and  
Member of Parliament  
India

Dr. Miroslav Krasa,  
Orientální Ústav Úsav  
Luzenská UL.  
PRAHA 1.

110 00



# Unpublished Netaji papers in Prague

By Our Special Representative *Statesman* 23/1/37

SOME hitherto unpublished correspondence by and documentation on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, preserved at the National Archives and the Chancellory at Prague, Czechoslovakia, may throw light on his activities in Central Europe. Mr Miloslav Krassa, Czech Indologist and recipient of this year's Deshikottam Award from Visva-Bharati, said in Calcutta on Thursday. He is planning to write a new book based on these records.

According to Dr Krassa, he alone has had the opportunity to go through these documents. Between 1933 and 1937, Bose paid seven visits to Prague and was once received by the President of the Czech Republic. Although these visits and some of his activities in Prague caused minor embarrassment to the then Czech Government because of its friendly ties with the United Kingdom, Bose did not ask for military assistance from Czechoslovakia as he did from Japan and Germany. "Our country is too small for that", Dr Krassa explained.

Speaking to reporters at a function at the Consulate-General of Czechoslovakia in the city, Dr Krassa said Indian themes were very popular in his country among both academics and the people at large, particularly the youth. Books on Indian themes and trans-

lations of Indian literature, both classical and modern, sold out in "months, weeks and even in hours". He mentioned the popular books on Indian subjects by Mr Vladimir Miltner and the translations of Tagore works by Mr Dusan Zbavitel. Czechs were eagerly looking forward to Mr Miltner's translation of the Mahabharata, due to be published later this year.

Czech interest in India, according to Mr Krassa, did not originate from the work of British Indologists of the early 19th century or from the "romantic" revival of India by the Germans but through "nationalist affinities". The chance discovery of a Sanskrit text by a Czech in 1830s, which revealed remarkable affinities between Sanskrit and the Slav languages, came at a time when the Czechs were involved in a nationalist struggle against the Habsburg empire.

Mr Krassa recalled his first visit to Santiniketan, during colonial rule, along with Vincent Lami, whom he described as the "father of classical Indology in Czechoslovakia". Although many of the visions Indians had then remain unrealized after independence, the most remarkable feature of the country's post-independence history, according to him, was the "stability of its society and political system".





सत्यमेव जयते

PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
July 9, 1990

Dear Shri Basu Ji,

Please refer to your letter of 1st March in which you have, inter alia, suggested that the Indian Government should purchase the house in Kabul where Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had stayed for some time and set up a suitable Memorial there.

Our Ambassador in Kabul has had discussions with the Afghan authorities on this proposal. The Afghan Government has reacted positively. However, the House is in the old part of Kabul city in an area earmarked for demolition. The Mayor of Kabul has been requested to indicate if the House can be saved from demolition. If this can be done, we could consider acquiring/restoring the House and converting it into a Memorial/Museum or Library. If, however, the House cannot be saved then the best course would be to erect a Memorial Plaque on the site.

Our Ambassador is in touch with the Afghan authorities on this issue and we hope to be in a position to take a final decision shortly.

As regards your proposal that we should rebuild the INA Memorial in Singapore, it is understood that the Government of Singapore's response has not been positive.

The other suggestions made by you for commemorating Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose are being considered in consultation with the Departments concerned.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Shri Chitta Basu  
General Secretary  
All India Forward Bloc  
28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road  
New Delhi-110001



# ALL INDIA FORWARD BLOC

28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road, New Delhi-110001

REF NO.....

DATE 1.3.1990

Dear Prime Minister,

We welcome the reported decision of the Government to rename the Calcutta Air Port as Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Air Port.

The countrymen have rejoiced over the decision. This is first significant step in the direction of according national honour to Netaji. More steps need to be taken to show proper honour and respect to this great hero of our freedom movement.

We suggest the following amongst others,

- (1) to declare 23rd January, the birthday of Netaji as a national holiday.
- (2) to set up National Museums at Mairang (Manipur) where the INA hoisted the flag of the provisional Azad Hind Government and set up its first Headquarters on the Indian soil and at the ancestral house of Netaji, at Cuttack, Orissa.
- (3) to rebuild the INA Memorial at Singapur, destroyed by Mr. Mount Batten, the former British Army Chief.
- (4) to rename Andamans and Nicobar Islands as Shaheed and Swaraj Dweep.
- (5) to purchase the house at Kabul, where Netaji stayed for some time on his way to Europe and set up a suitable Memorial there.

We are delighted to learn from Prof. Nirmal Bose, Minister of Food and Supplies, Government of West Bengal, and a Member of the Central Secretariat of our Party, that you expressed your kind desire to have discussion with us on the above issues, during your last Calcutta visit.

....2/-



# ALL INDIA FORWARD BLOC

28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road, New Delhi-110001

REF NO.....

DATE ..... 19 .....

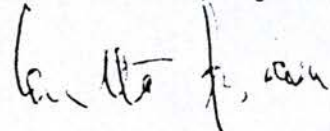
- 2 -

A delegation on behalf of Party would be happy to meet you to discuss these issues, at your convenience.

As our Central Committee meets here from March 2 to March 5, 1990, it would be most convenient for us to meet you at any time during these days.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,



Shri V.P. Singh,  
Prime Minister,  
Government of India,  
New Delhi.



Chitta Basu  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



Phone Nos. 3782260  
3782578

28, Gurdwara Rakabganj Road,  
New Delhi-1.

Dt. 6.3.89.

Dear Shri Sen,

Kindly refer to my discussion with you over phone on 3rd March, 89 in connection with my discussion with the Prime Minister regarding (a) the takeover of the House in Kabul, Afghanistan, where Netaji stayed enroute to Europe during the 2nd World War and (b) our proposal for Joint research work on the history of freedom movement. I am sending herewith copies of letters addressed to the Prime Minister in this connection, for your follow up action.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

encl: as above.

(Chitta Basu)

Shri H. Sen,  
Joint Secretary,  
P.M. Secretariat,  
New Delhi.

Letter to PM on 30.5.88 (10.10.88)  
Letter from H. Narayan to PM on 16.3.89  
2 copies 30.5.88 (10.10.88)  
Letter to H. Singh on 16.5.88 (10.10.88)  
Letter to H. Singh on 12.8.88



Chitta Basu  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



Phone No. 382280  
384576

28, Gurdwara Rakabgunj Road,  
New Delhi-1.

30-9-1988.

Dear Prime Minister,

As you know, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose reached Kabul on January 27 in 1941, after his great escape from Calcutta on January 16, 1941. He stayed in the house that belongs to Uttam Chand, an old revolutionary at Mohalla Hindu Gazar, Shor Bazar, Kabul, from February 9, 1941 to February 11, 1941 and again from February 15, 1941 to 17 March, 1941. Bhagat Ram Talwar, an old revolutionary who had helped Netaji in his escape from Peshawar to Kabul, had also stayed with Netaji in that house at Kabul. There was a reference of this house and the room in which Netaji had stayed, in the Book, "The Talwars of Pathan Land and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape."

I quote the relevant portion :

"The residence of Uttam Chand was in the upper storey of a two-storeyed building in Mohalla Hindu Gazar. The floor was occupied by one household, a Hindu from Peshawar. The house consisted of three rooms in addition to the kitchen and the bath room. The two of us (Netaji and Bhagat Ram Talwar), were given a separate room furnished after the Central-Asian fashion. The floor was covered with durries and carpets. There was a sandli (a sort of small wooden table under which there is an angithi which keeps the large quantities in the room warm) in the middle of the room and three thick and low mattresses with cushions around the sandli which were used for sitting and also as beds at night. Netaji and I used two of these mattresses while the third would be taken by others coming into the room."

(Page 101,

I am told that the said house is not being maintained properly and during it may be dilapidated soon. For every Indian patriot, the house is a sacred place. I strongly feel that the Government of India should take necessary action, to take over the house and maintain it properly as a monument of historical and national significance.

I took up the matter with Shri A. Natwar Singh, Minister of State, External Affairs, who was kind enough to send me a letter of acknowledgement no. VIP-910/90 S(M), dated 30th June, 1988. Since then, I have not received any information from the Minister of External Affairs.

I shall be glad if you kindly take interest in the matter and take appropriate action.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Chitta Basu)

Shri Rajiv Gandhi,  
Prime Minister,  
India.



VIP-7101 MOSCOW

विदेश राज्य मंत्री  
भारतMINISTER OF STATE  
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
INDIA

June 30, 1988.

I have received your letter of 14th May, 1988 and noted the proposal for acquiring the house in Kabul where Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had stayed for a few weeks in February/ March 1941.

Yours sincerely,

(K. Natwar-Singh)

Shri Chitta Basu, MP  
28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road,  
New Delhi-110 001.



Chitta Ram

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
( RAJYA SABHA )



Phone No. 332330  
334576

23, Garudwara Rakabganj Road,  
New Delhi-110 001.

Dated 14.5.1988

Dear Shri Singh,

As you know, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose reached Kabul on January 27 in 1941, after his great escape from Calcutta on January 16, 1941. He stayed in the House that belongs to Uttam Chand, an old revolutionary at Mohalla Hindu Qasr, Shor Bazar, Kabul, from February 9, 1941 to February 11, 1941 and again from February 15, 1941 to 17 March, 1941. Bhagat Ram Talwar, an old revolutionary who had helped Netaji in his escape from Peshawar to Kabul, had also stayed with Netaji in that house at Kabul. There was a reference of this House and the room in which Netaji had stayed, in the book, "The Talwars of Pathan Land and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape".

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(page 101)

I am told that the said house is not being maintained properly and during it may be dilapidated soon. For every Indian patriot, the House is a very sacred place. I strongly feel that the Government of India should take necessary action, to take over the house and maintain it properly as a monument of historical and national significance.

I send herewith 5 photographs of the said house, which have been presented to me by an Indian journalist who recently visited the place.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Chitta Ram)





PRIME MINISTER



New Delhi  
September 18, 1990

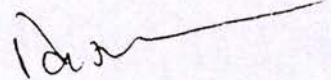
Sub: Letter dated 24th August, 1990 enclosing a copy of resolution of the Central Committee of the All India Forward Bloc regarding the ashes of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose.

Dear Shri Basu,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,



[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Shri Chitta Basu, MP  
28, Gurdwara Rakabganj Road  
New Delhi



10

3782260

# ALL INDIA FORWARD BLOC

28, GURUDWARA RAKABGANJ ROAD, NEW DELHI-110001

REF. NO.....

DATE..... August 24, 1990

Dear Prime Minister,

We enclose herewith a copy of the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the All India Forward Bloc, in its meeting held on August 17-21, last on the motivated move to bring the so-called ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Tokyo.

We also enclose herewith a note on the discrepancies in the earlier reports on the alleged Air Crash at Taihoku.

We shall be glad if you please take necessary action to see that the motivated move does not fructify.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

enclosed above

(Chitta Basu)  
General Secretary.

Shri V.P. Singh,  
Prime Minister,  
Government of India,  
New Delhi.





PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
April 10, 1987

Dear Shri Basu,

I have your letter of 3rd April regarding the presence of archival material on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Czechoslovakia Academy of Sciences. We have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into the suggestion which you have made.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'V. P. Mehta'.

Shri Chitta Basu, MP  
28, Gurdwara Rakabgunj Road,  
New Delhi





PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
April 10, 1987

Dear Shri Basu,

I have your letter of 3rd April regarding the presence of archival material on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Czechoslovakia Academy of Sciences. We have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into the suggestion which you have made.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'V. K. Mehta'.

Shri Chitta Basu, MP  
28, Gurdwara Rakabgunj Road,  
New Delhi



RESOLUTION ON THE MOTIVATED MOVE TO BRING THE SO CALLED  
ASHES OF NETAJI FROM THE RENKOJI TEMPLE OF TOKYO TO INDIA.

The Central Committee of the All India Forward Bloc expresses its strong concern that in spite of the strong feeling of the people of the country against the deliberate move to prove that the ashes kept in the Renkoji temple of Tokyo are the ashes of Netaji, a move has been taken from some interested quarters, with an ill motive to malign the image of Netaji, to bring these ashes from Tokyo to India. The Central Committee recalls in this connection that the people of the country have rejected totally the majority findings of the Netaji Enquiry Commission, set up under the Chairmanship of Shah Nawaz Khan by Jawaharlal Nehru in respect of the so-called air crash at Taihoku Airport, in which Netaji was alleged to have been killed. In the context of the strong feeling of the people in this regard, the Government of India had set up another Enquiry Committee to go through the question of Netaji's so-called death under the Chairmanship of Justice Khosla. The Khosla Committee, in its report, made the remark that there had been no conclusive evidence in the matter of so-called death of Netaji in Taihoku aircrash. The Government of India did not proceed in this matter any further. As such, the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple cannot be the ashes of Netaji.

The Central Committee expresses its strong opinion once again that the ashes from the Renkoji Temple must not be brought to India, and if this is done this will be a great dishonour to Netaji, and therefore, the C.C. declares that if any attempt is made from any quarter to do it, this will be resisted by



: 2 :

all possible means.

The C.C. requests the Government of India to take note of the strong feeling of the people of the country in this regard and take appropriate steps to prevent the move of bringing the ashes from Tokyo to India.

The Central Committee calls upon the people of the country to be on their guard against this nefarious move to malign the greatest of our national heroes and throw their full weight to frustrate it.

The Central Committee decides that a small delegation on behalf of the All India Forward Bloc, under the leadership of the General Secretary should meet the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister immediately to apprise them of the seriousness of the situation in this regard.

.....



Sub : Information wanted about the reported incident of the  
destruction of the RENKOJI TEMPLE by devastating fire.

5

According to the report of the News Agency D.P.A. (published on September 5, 1989, in the Bengali Daily 'BARTAMAN') TOKYO 4, September, 1989 the three hundred and forty five years old historic 'RENKOJI BUDDHIST TEMPLE' was struck by a devastating fire and burnt to ashes eventually. But detailed report of the incident could not be found in any Indian Newspaper after that. We have been carefully scrutinising the Newspapers for follow-up reports since then but, we have not yet found any.

We, therefore, request you to confirm the said report and let us know a detailed account of the incident if it does not cause much of your inconvenience.

A xerox copy of the News item (published in Bengali Daily Bartaman on 5th September, 1989) and an English translated version of it are enclosed herewith for your perusal.

Your early reply in this matter will help us to pursue further.

---

RENKOJI TEMPLE BURNT TO ASHES

"TOKYO, 4, September (D.P.A) - Police sources inform today that the three hundred and forty five years old historic Renkoji Buddhist Temple has been burnt to ashes as a result of a devastating fire. According to the Police Report nobody has been injured at this incident. Information has been found that fire struck the Temple in early hours of the morning."



সালসবার ৫ সেপ্টেম্বর ১৯৮২ খ্রিঃ, ১৩৯৬

## রাজীর-বীরেন্দ্র বৈঠক নিশ্ফল

বেলগেড, ৪ সেপ্টেম্বর (পি টি আই): প্রধানমন্ত্রী রাজীব গান্ধী ও নেপালের রাজা বীরেন্দ্রের মধ্যে দীর্ঘ প্রতীক্ষিত বৈঠক আজ এখানে অনুষ্ঠিত হয়েছে। তবে অচলাবস্থা তাত্ত্বিক কাটেনি। জনৈক ভারতীয় মুখপাত্র জানান, সহৃদয়তাপূর্ণ পরিবেশে সাময়িকভাবে দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্ক নিয়ে তাদের মধ্যে আলোচনা হয়। দুই দেশের পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রীরা আগামী তিন দিনের মধ্যে বৈঠকে বসবেন কিনা তা তিনি জানাননি।

## নকশাল : কেন্দ্রীয় দল অগ্র যাচ্ছে

নয়াদিল্লি, ৪ সেপ্টেম্বর (পি টি আই): অত্র প্রদেশে নকশাল আন্দোলন দমন করতে রাজ্য সরকার যে 'বু-প্রিন্ট' প্রস্তুত করেছেন তার কার্যকারিতা পরীক্ষা করার জন্য কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার নীচুই অস্ত্রে পর্যবেক্ষণ দল পাঠাচ্ছে। স্বরাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের এক মুখপাত্র জানিয়েছেন, 'ওই পর্যবেক্ষক দলের রিপোর্ট' মতো কেন্দ্র অস্ত্রে আধা সামরিক বাহিনী পাঠানোর ব্যাপারে সিদ্ধান্ত করবে। কেন্দ্রীয় স্বরাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের নির্দেশ মতো বু প্রিন্ট প্রস্তুত করার সংবাদ স্বরাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয়ে পৌঁছানোর সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কেন্দ্র বিশেষ পর্যবেক্ষক দল পাঠানোর কথা ঘোষণা করেছে।

## বিদ্যুৎ ঘাটতি : মিল নেই হিসাবে

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার : মানুষের অভিজ্ঞতার সঙ্গে বিদ্যুৎ দপ্তরের দেওয়া বিদ্যুৎ ঘাটতির হিসাবের কোনো মিল খুঁজে পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না। সেমবার বিদ্যুৎ দপ্তর থেকে জানানো হয়েছে, এদিন সন্দের সময় কলকাতা শহরে (সি ই এস সি) বিদ্যুৎ ঘাটতি ছিল ৬৫ মেগাওয়াট। ওই সময়ে দক্ষিণবঙ্গে পর্যদের ঘাটতি ছিল ৬৫ মেগাওয়াট। অথচ এদিন সকাল থেকে রাতি পর্যন্ত দক্ষিণ দক্ষিণ দক্ষিণ পর খন্ডা লোডশেডিং হয়েছে।

## রেনকোজি মন্দির ভস্মীভূত

টোকিও, ৪ সেপ্টেম্বর (ডি পি এ): এক বিধবাসী অগ্নিকাণ্ডে জাপানের ৩৪৫ বছরের পুরনো ঐতিহাসিক রেনকোজি বৌদ্ধ মন্দিরটি সম্পূর্ণ ভস্মীভূত হয়েছে। মন্দিরটিতে সঞ্চিত এই ধর্মীয় ভাস্কর্যের পুণিসের তরফ থেকে জানানো হয়, এই দুর্ঘটনায় কেউ আহত হননি। জানা গেছে, শুব ভোরের দিকে এই আগুন লাগে।



MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



27, South Avenue,  
New Delhi 11.  
November 29, 1973.

(3)

(1)

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

I, on behalf of the Socialist Party in the Parliament, extend our warm greetings to you and your colleagues now in India and, through you, to the great people of Russia. Russian Revolution and its national reconstruction added great incentive to our aspiration to achieve socialist transformation of our country in an Indian way, under Indian condition and on the basis of democratic and cultural values that the people of our country cherished from the days of our ancient civilization. We welcome friendly relation with Russia as also with other countries for establishing fraternal relation of peace, progress, understanding and mutual respect of national independence of all countries.

On the occasion of your visit to our country, I want to make an earnest request to you to help the Indian people to resolve the mystery surrounding the fate of their beloved leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A very large section of Indian people believe that Russia can throw light about what happened to their leader.

I am sure, it is known to you that the Indian people honour Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the greatest revolutionary of the days of their national liberation struggle.

It may be known to you that, to resolve the mystery about Netaji Bose, the Government of India have set up a second Inquiry Commission under a Justice of a High Court. The Commission, after about 3 years of its investigation works, is in the last stage of finalizing its report. However, the Commission suffered for want of documents from countries like Soviet Russia, U.S.A. and Britain connected with the episode of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose after escaping from India in 1941, wanted to go to Russia to set up his head quarters in the Soviet-land for conducting revolutionary struggle against the British imperialism. Although Russia at that time did not accept his plan yet allowed him to pass through Russia, with honour, to Italy.

Netaji Bose joined hands with the Axis power in Europe, as his strategy was to utilize the Britain's enemy's enemy for achieving India's independence. Although he collaborated with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy for achieving his revolutionary objective, he never compromised his ideology of socialism with the totalitarian ideology of the fascist countries. It is on record that he expressed his deep resentment against the treacherous





aggression on your motherland by Hitler. He made it absolutely clear to Hitler before he left for Japan that the Indian revolutionary army, that was formed under his leadership in Germany would not be compelled to fight, under any circumstances, in the eastern front against Soviet Russia but only against the British army in the western front. Many Indians of the Revolutionary Army for their refusal to fight against the Soviet Army, had to face extreme persecution at the hands of Nazi Germany. Even while Netaji Bose was in Germany, he always maintained a friendly attitude towards Russia and did not utter a single word in support of Nazi aggression against your Motherland. Coming to Japan after 90 days of most hazardous submarine journey, which no revolutionary in any time before dared to undertake in fulfilling a sacred mission of liberation of his country, Netaji Bose formed a big Indian National Army and had set up a Provisional Government of free India. This Provisional Government, which was recognized by 11 nations of those days, had declared war against Britain and U.S.A., but it steadfastly maintained a policy of friendship with Russia and China. The Indian National Army, under the leadership of the legendary personality of Netaji Bose, fought the glorious battle of Indian liberation against the British imperialism in the Indian soil along the Indo-Burmese frontier. Netaji has been hailed in India as the greatest Hero of the Indian people and the chapter of the liberation struggle of the Revolutionary Army of Netaji Bose is remembered as the proudest phase of the march of Indian freedom.

After the defeat of Germany in 1944, when it appeared to him that the defeat of Japan was also an inevitability, Netaji Bose tried to contact Russia to cross over to your country and resume India's freedom struggle from there after the fall of Japan. He prepared the plan to cross into Russia through Manchuria. The fact about this plan has been corroborated by the findings of the first Netaji Inquiry Commission from the records of the Provisional Free India Government.

Soon after the fall of Japan in the month of August, 1945, Netaji made an air dash to reach Manchuria in an effort to contact the Russian authority there and thereafter enter into the Soviet territory of Siberia. On 18th August, 1945, Japan made an unconvincing broadcast that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in a plane crash at Taipei airport in Formosa (Taiwan).

The Indian people, for various unassailable reasons, did not believe in the story of reported death of their beloved leader. Recently, I visited Taipei in Formosa alongwith Netaji Inquiry Commission. After making thorough inquiry about the report





of death of Netaji at Taipei, I came back to India with positive conviction that the whole story of Netaji Bose's death at Taipei was a part of a master deception plan to enable Netaji Bose to safely reach Manchuria and thereafter to go to Soviet Russia.

Many reports appeared in the Indian press that the great revolutionary leader of the Indian people, Netaji Bose, indeed reached Russia and he was a free man in Russia but sometime after, he was arrested by Stalin and kept in a prison in Siberia. Many years passed but the Indian people did not get any official information about Netaji Bose from the Government of Soviet Russia under Com. Stalin or the new regime set up in Russia after the death of the great Russian leader.

On behalf of the Indian people, I make an earnest appeal to you to send all documents that are in the hands of the Government of Russia about Netaji Bose and also what the Russian Government know about him. I hope and trust that, in the interest of friendship between the two peoples of Russia and India, as also Russia being a land of great revolution, you will kindly take personal interest in giving all informations to the Indian people regarding their great leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and send all the documents to the Government of India connected therewith, for placing the same before the Netaji Inquiry Commission. The Indian people will remain ever grateful to you if you kindly consider the matter as very urgent as the second Netaji Inquiry Commission is going to finalise its findings very soon.

I again extend our warmest greetings to you and through you our best wishes to the people of your Motherland.

With warmest regards,

Yours comradely,  
Sd/- Samar Guha  
Leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Com. Leonid Brezhnev,  
General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party,  
Care Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi

The letter was duly received by the staff of the Russian leader, but regrettably the expected reply never came. However, to bring some pressure on the Russian authority, the letter was given fair publicity by the Indian press.



**1. MINUTES OF DISCUSSIONS OF SHRI CHITTA BASU, MP WITH PROF. ANATOLY A. KUTZENKOV, DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES (RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES) ON 23.10.1996.**

After exchange of greetings, the Hon'ble MP Mr. Basu started the discussions by asking Dr. Kutzenkov two questions on the role of the Institute and its activities, and on his assesment on the political situation in India.

2. In reply, Dr. Kutzenkov introduced a number of academicians present at the meeting dealing with various subjects like Indian political structures, Indian culture, Indian foreign policy, India-China relations, social problems like casteism, SC/ST/OBC issues, comparative studies on international human relations, development of democracy and other issues. In the meeting, the academicians present were the following :

- (a) Prof. Felix Yurlov
- (b) Prof. Boris Kluyev
- (c) Prof. Sergei Lunev
- (d) Dr. Yevgenia Vakina
- (e) Dr. Marina Pleshova
- (f) Dr. Yeugenia Yurlova
- (g) Dr. Leonid Mitrovlina
- (h) Dr. Yuri Tziganyov
- (I) Dr. Tatiana Shanimian
- (j) Dr. Mitrokhin

3. Director Kutzenkov informed the Hon'ble MP of the background of the Centre for Indian Studies which was opened in compliance with the instructions given by Mr. Gorbachev after his visit to (JNU) India in 1986 , with the aim of collecting material for analysis on Russo-Indian relations.

4. Kutzenkov also informed that the present Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Mr. Yevgeni Primakhov also was once the Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies for about a decade before he joined as Chief of the Intelligence Services after which he joined as Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation.

5. Mr. Kutzenkov also informed that primarily the Institute deals with matters with a holistic approach on relations of Russia with India (and other countries), particularly, in order to create an understanding that India's status is quite different from countries like Vietnam, Combodia, Angola etc. which were supported by the Soviet Union. Further, Russia's geo-political interests with India need be properly understood.

6. The Institute's small contribution of "The Concept of Strategic Partnership of Russia with India" has been accepted by the Federal Government.



Further, during the visit of President Yeltsin to India in January 1993, the Institute provided certain analytical material and documents which were accepted and appreciated by the Russian President's Office. However, the present Administration does not seem to give the Institute much importance, apparently because their knowledge is either too much or not quite adequate, he stated. In any case, Dr. Kutzenkov added, this Institute has been responsible for the creation of public opinion on geo-political stabilisation and cooperation between Russia and India in areas of mutual interest, that is, in Central Asia, where there is an acknowledged commonality of interests of the two countries for preserving democracy, secularism, and also to prevent conflicts and militancy in the area. Also, 'national integrity' is a factor common to both Russia and India.

7. Dr. Kutzenkov also spoke about possible India's role in improving relations between Russia and China, and vice versa, and also for cooperation in matters relating to other global issues, like democracy, political and economic groupings etc as a matter of national priority. In any case, he emphasized, there is a growing need for cooperation between India and Russia, as both countries are rather alone and isolated and out of the political and economic groupings. He particularly emphasized that (a) Russia should increase cooperation in power sectors in India where Russia has collaborated in more than 100 projects; (b) exchange of technical know-how in areas of high technology (c) and particularly, on the establishment and cooperation of small businesses and consumer industries etc in Russia.

8. He thanked Mr. Basu for his visit and informed him that the Institute has always been having excellent relations with Ambassador Sen and all the members of his staff.

9. In reply, the Hon'ble MP informed the Director that the purpose of his visit to the Institute was to convince the Indian Parliament back home to take concrete steps to develop India-Russian relations, which should receive its attention. Shri Basu also informed the academicians about the up-to-date political situation in India, particularly his views and the views of the Leftist Parties and the Forward Bloc which he represents. As he also enlightened them on the UF Government's common minimum programme and its own views on the economic reforms started in India in 1991 and expressed his views on their limitations in so far as the weaker sections of society are concerned. He particularly expressed his reservations on the globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation aspects of these reforms. The other questions he touched upon were relating to UP - elections, secularism in India. The Hon'ble MP said that the present Government is following a "value-based policy" and his Party and the left group stand for secularism and have always risen against communalism, particularly against the communalism of the majority group, which poses a grave danger to the country.

10. Then the Hon'ble MP drew the attention of the academicians to a special question regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who died, according to Japanese sources, on 18th August 1945, but who, in fact, was, according to Russian sources, in Russia till October 1946 (in Irkusk!), he also read out the statement of Prime Minister Morarji Desai dated 20 August 1978 made in



Parliament relevant to the death of Netaji. What the Hon'ble MP wanted from the Russian side was to have a clear statement regarding Netaji's death which, according to him, will help in strengthening India-Russia relations a lot at the people's level. Prof. Mitrokhin informed the leader of the Forward Bloc Party that the Foreign Minister Primakov, when he was Institute Director, himself made an effort to know the exact position about Netaji's stay in Russia. Mitrokhin also informed that certain documents regarding Netaji's arrival and passing through Russia from Afghanistan on his way to Germany, are available. It may, however, be necessary for him to go to Irkusk region to search and find out any details, if available, regarding Netaji's death in Russia and hopefully, he will make a trip to the region.

11. Prof. Mitrokhin then accompanied Mr. Basu to Roerich Memorial Room and Library situated in the Institute, which has a very special collection of important and rare books gifted by the Roerich family. He also informed the MP that the three great Roerich family members' graves are preserved in India, i.e. in Kulu, Bangalore and Darjeeling.

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DOCUMENTATION RELATING TO NETAJI SUBASH CHANDRA  
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Shri Chitta Basu, MP had written to later PM Shri Rajiv Gandhi in April 1987 about presence of Archival material in Czech Academy of Sciences. In 1988, he wrote to President Gorbachev.

2. On March 5, 1990, Hindustan Times quoted Dr. Yurlova, a scholar at the Institute of Oriental Studies mentioning that Soviet scholars in possession of documents on Netaji. On April 9, 1990 in response to a PQ, an assurance was given that "efforts will be made to obtain either the original papers or their copies so that they could be studied". Shri Samar Guha, MP, further took up the matter with EAM in May 1990.

3. On May 21, 1990, the Embassy wrote to the MFA of the USSR requesting to explore the possibility of relevant materials, or copies of it, on Netaji being transferred to the National Archives in New Delhi. On August 17, 1990 the Soviet Foreign Office conveyed certain materials on Netaji available in Soviet Archives. Those materials, however, did not shed any further light on Netaji's fate or his sojourn in the USSR.

4. In December 1990, the Embassy sent a message to MEA in answer to a PQ that the material which had been received by the Embassy from the Soviet Foreign Office did not refer at all to the possibility of Netaji having taken shelter in the USSR after the Second World War. The Embassy subsequently received some material from the Soviet Foreign Office and these were forwarded to the Ministry in May 1991. The documents "threw no additional light on the fate of Netaji or his possible presence in the Soviet Union after his disappearance in 1945".

5. On September 16, 1991, the Embassy wrote to the Soviet Foreign Office enclosing a collection of documents on Netaji received from Shri Chitta Basu, MP. These documents contained suggestions quoting Soviet Diplomats to the effect that Netaji might have found his way to the Soviet Union after the alleged plane crash in 1945. Our note sought "any material available in the archives of Soviet Organisations, including security organisation, which could shed light on the fate of Netaji".

6. In its reply dated January 8, 1992 the Russian MFA stated that "as per data available in the central and republic archives, there was

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no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and subsequent years".

7. In November 1992, Shri Samar Guha, MP wrote to MEA and FS asked the Embassy to see whether more information could be obtained from the Russian side, the matter was taken up with the Russian authorities. FS however wrote to Shri Guha that "our own enquiries with the Russians, pursuant to your suggestions, indicate that they themselves accept that Netaji died in the plane crash in 1945". However, based on FS's advise, the Mission took up the matter with the Russian Foreign Office on January 10, 1993.

8. In Autumn 1993, the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" carried three articles on Netaji ostensibly drawing on KGB archival material. Inter alia, the article concluded with a "certificate" dated December 25, 1945 from the KGB archives signed by a NKVD functionary mentioning that "after the Japanese capitulation in the first half of September 1945, Tass, quoting British sources informed from Tokyo that Subash Chandra Bose, staying in Japan has died".

9. On July 27, 1995, the Embassy forwarded Shri Samar Guha's monogram "country must know what happened to Netaji". The note mentioned that there had been further speculation on Netaji's visit to the former Soviet Union in 1945 and requested that "all materials available on this subject be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subash Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently".

10. "The Pioneer" of September 14, 1995 quoted Dr. Purabi Roy, Dr. Hari Vasudevan and Dr. Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta on their visit as a part of the Asiatic Society delegation and stating that request would be made for scholars to collect more information "Indian leaders". They specifically referred to "hitherto unknown facts about Netaji". "The Indian Express" on September 19, 1995 also carried a report "Government apathy leaves Netaji's fate buried in Moscow's files". These scholars mentioned "utmost difficulties" in gaining access to materials and also talked of "restrictions" imposed on them by a section of Embassy officials.

11. The MFA wrote to us on September 27, 1995 saying that their investigation with the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History showed that "no information



whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years". In forwarding the letter Ambassador Kotov categorically asserted that "we can be sure that Netaji has never set foot on Russian soil" and that "extensive research can hardly leave any doubts" in this regard.

12. "The Hindustan Times" of October 22, 1995 mentioned "Pranab's mission revives Netaji's death row". The same paper on Decemver 10, 1995 mentioned Shri Chitta Basu, MP demanding a "fresh probe" into Netaji's death.

13. On March 27, 1996 MEA had forwarded PMO's letter of March 3, 1996 enclosing a letter from Shri Pradip Bose asking that Russian Government files on Netaji be "opened up". MEA had asked us to make discreet enquiries.



ПОСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ ВЕРХОВНОГО СОВЕТА  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

1620 О временном порядке доступа к архивным доку-  
ментам и их использования

В целях упорядочения доступа к архивным документам, являю-  
щимся государственной собственностью, и их использования впредь  
до принятия соответствующих законов Верховный Совет Российской  
Федерации постановляет:

1. Архивные документы, а также справочники к ним предостав-  
ляются для использования всем гражданам, предприятиям, учрежде-

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ниям, организациям, в том числе на равных основаниях гражданам и  
организациям других государств.

2. Ограничения на доступ к архивным документам или части со-  
державшейся в них информации устанавливаются только в отношении  
сведений, составляющих государственную или иную охраняемую за-  
коном тайну, на срок 30 лет со времени их создания, если иное не ус-  
тановлено законом.

Сокращение или увеличение указанного срока в отношении от-  
дельных архивных документов допускается с разрешения Президиу-  
ма Верховного Совета Российской Федерации по представлению Ко-  
митета по делам архивов при Правительстве Российской Федерации  
(Роскомархив).

3. Доступ к архивным документам, содержащим сведения о лич-  
ной жизни гражданина, разрешается через 75 лет после их создания.  
Ранее этого срока доступ к таким документам может быть разрешен  
самим гражданином, а после его смерти — его наследникам или в  
случае отсутствия наследников — в порядке, определяемом Президиу-  
мом Верховного Совета Российской Федерации.

4. Безвозвратный вывоз за пределы страны архивных докумен-  
тов, являющихся собственностью Российской Федерации, допускается  
в каждом отдельном случае по постановлению Верховного Совета  
Российской Федерации.

5. Правительству Российской Федерации по представлению Рос-  
комархива утвердить порядок выдачи лицензий на использование  
архивных документов в коммерческих целях.

6. Установить, что пользователи архивных документов несут от-  
ветственность за их использование.

Пользователи архивных документов могут обжаловать решения и  
действия архивных учреждений и органов в вышестоящий архивный  
орган, а в случае несогласия с его решением вопрос по заявлению  
пользователя может быть разрешен в судебном порядке в соответст-  
вии со статьей 4 Закона СССР «О порядке обжалования в суд не-  
правомерных действий органов государственного управления и долж-  
ностных лиц, ущемляющих права граждан».

Председатель Верховного Совета Российской Федерации Р. И. ХАСБУЛАТОВ.

Москва, дом Советов России

19 июня 1992 года.

№ 3088-1

Ведомость Съезда Керемет  
Фемутагов,  
1992, № 28

18/04 (НСВ) (1992)



23rd January 1996

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OPENING UP RUSSIA'S ARCHIVES

Alexander KOROTKOV in charge of the Russian Presidential Archives talks about ways of opening up classified documents.

I'd like to tell you that an overwhelming majority of all documents inside Communist corridors of power were being stamped with "Secret" and "Top Secret" seals. In fact, they were used to classify various documents containing state secrets, as well as completely harmless papers, apparently for the sake of "supreme partisan interests". For example certain documents dealing with Politburo members' health, their work schedule and recreation were also registered with secret files.

**Question:** Mr. Korotkov, archivists are being criticized for such materials most often, with some people saying that they can't read those apparently declassified documents. They are even inclined to think that nothing has changed inside Russia's archives, which still abide by all sorts of bans.

**Answer:** Indeed, they tend to criticize us time and again, stressing that our archives allegedly guard nothing but empty spaces. On the other hand, this country wants to become a rule-of-law state. Top-secret documents can't be declassified automatically. This procedure should be conducted in accordance with all sorts of existing regulations. For their own part, certain officials shall have to assume personal responsibility for this work. Some documents deal with state secrets, containing a number of "harmless" provisions all the same. In these cases, we declassify part of such documents, deleting certain words, phrases and even paragraphs. Consequently, such documents can be studied by researchers.

**Question:** Can it be said that this country now has its own file-declassification machinery?

**Answer:** Well, such a machinery began to evolve after the adoption of the State Secrets Act on July 21, 1993. That Act defines the appropriate file classification and



23rd January 1996

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declassification procedures, as well as subsequent document-examination regulations. The Inter-Departmental Commission for Protecting State Secrets was established some time later. Therefore one can safely say that this work is now being carried out within the framework of the required normative base, boasting the appropriate organizational structure, too. A special commission responsible for declassifying 80 million files of Soviet Communist Party documents was established later on.

**Question:** What have you managed to accomplish at this stage?

**Answer:** We worked together with the concerned departmental experts, ultimately preparing 24 file-declassification studies that also dealt with the declassification of separate thematic document collections. We opened up materials of Communist Party congresses and plenary meetings over the 1940-1990 time period, as well as documents of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee conferences, the minutes of the State Defense Committee Operations Bureau, etc. All in all, we have declassified approximately 5,000 files and over 1,000 separate documents.

**Question:** Do you regard your file-declassification plan as something dogmatic?

**Answer:** We abide by its provisions. However, the file-declassification process, which is dictated by practical considerations, should not be seen as an end in itself. We are doing our utmost to acquaint the public and users alike with such documents. Among other things, the well-known Soviet Communist Party trial had required some documents not so long ago. The special commission worked at the Presidential Archives, opening up an impressive number of files in the process. An Inter-Departmental Expert Group is now examining various archives with a view to compiling a collection of archive documents on the history of Soviet nuclear weapons.

**Question:** The declassification of any documents constitutes a complicated time- and labor-consuming process.



23rd January 1996

2

- 3 -

What particular records do you keep in this field?

**Answer:** We operate automated systems making it possible to register new data-bank entries (as regards declassified documents). On the one hand, this enables us to avoid all sorts of blunders; and on the other hand, we can compile a thematic catalogue listing all "processed" files.

**Question:** And now the last and loaded question. The file-declassification and classification processes are rather elaborate and intricate. The Soviet state had even classified Leonid Brezhnev's daily working schedule. Specific environmental reports dealing with air and drinking-water quality were also something top secret. How do you classify certain files today?

**Answer:** The State Secrets Act stipulates a List of Information Containing State Secrets. All files are classified in strict accordance with that list. The List also contains various facts and developments that can't be veiled in secrecy; in fact, it is expressly forbidden to do that. For example this concerns any information about emergencies, accidents, disasters, sanitation, crime, privileges and breaks being granted by the state to private individuals and enterprises, as well as violations of human rights and freedoms, the state of the environment, and so on and so forth. Summing up, the classification of specific documents has become a really formidable task, indeed.

Transcript by Alexander GUBANOV.

(Rossiiskiye Vesti, January 23. Abridged.)



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**1620. DECREE OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF RUSSIAN  
FEDERATION**

**ON TEMPORARY PROCEDURE OF ACCESS TO ARCHIVAL  
DOCUMENTS AND ON THEIR USE.**

For regulation of access to archival documents, which are State property, and on their use until corresponding laws are adopted, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation decides:

1. The archival documents, as well as books referring to them, is open for use to all citizens, enterprises, officers, organisations, including citizens and organisations of other states on an equal basis.
2. Restrictions on access to the archival documents or a part of information contained in them are placed only on data which is a State or any other secret protected by law, for a 30 year period from the day of its appearance, unless otherwise specified by law.

Shortening or prolongation of the indicated period with regard to separate archives documents is accorded with the permission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Russian Federation on representation of the Committee on Archives of the Government of the Russian Federation (ROSCOMARCHIV).

3. Access to the archival documents containing data on personal life of a citizen is permitted only after 75 years of its formulation. Access to such documents earlier than this period may be allowed by the person himself, and after his death - by his heirs, or in case there are no heirs - by an order established by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.
4. Irretrievable removal out of the country of the archival documents, which are the property of the Russian Federation, is permitted on a case by case basis in accordance with the Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of Russian Federation.

For info' pe.

J. R. R.

cfa

I do hope that there has been no dilution of the decree in subsequent years. Also, is ROSCOMARCHIV in control in these matters. May also pl discuss. Lg. 10/4 Mini (P)



5. On submission by ROSCOMARCHIV, the Government of the Russian Federation should establish an order for issuing of licenses for the use of archival documents for commercial purposes.

6. It should be established that users of archival documents are responsible for their implementation.

Users of archival documents may appeal against decisions and actions of the Archives institutions and bodies to a higher archives organs, and in case of any disagreement with its decision, the issue of the users' application may be resolved in court in accordance with Article 4 of the USSR Law on "Order of Appeal to courts on illegal acts of the State ruling bodies and officials, infringing on the rights of citizens".

R.I. Khasbulatov

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Russian Federation

Moscow, House of Soviets  
of Russia  
June 19, 1992  
No.3088-I



Embassy of India  
Moscow

Mr. Gulyaev rang me up today to inform me that in pursuant of his discussions with Cd'A on April 22, 1996, he has now been able to identify the person in the State Archives with whom our academicians in India could get in touch regarding Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. The person is Mr. Vladimir Petrovich Tarasov of the International Relations Department of the State Archives Services of the Russian Federation, ROSARKHIV. Mr. Tarasov's telephone number is 206 2785.

For information, *re.*

*[Signature]*  
(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister(Pol)  
6.5.1996

Cd'A

*we had discuss the matter with Amle. upon his return. 07/5*

Min(P)

*Pl. look i other papers & p.u. on 10/5/96*

*[Signature]*

Amle

*CD 8/5*

*May pl discuss 4.*

*Recd on 17/5 [Signature]*  
*Am 17/5*

*Discussed with DEM. Will contact Mr Tarasov on my return from SPB on 22/5/96. Meanwhile pps. may be kept on file in NGO. Am 17/5*

Att(Pol)





~~TOP SECRET~~  
Immediate

R.L. Narayan  
Joint Secretary (EE)

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

No. 958 /JS(EE)/96

27th March, 1996

My dear Raner,

I enclose a copy of U.O. note No. 1139/M/JS(M)/96 dated 2.3.1996 from JS (PMO) along with its enclosure, being a letter addressed to PM by Shri Pradip Bose. I am also enclosing a copy of our office notings on the subject. PM's instructions are that he would like you to make discreet enquiries to ascertain, if possible, the existence of any additional information on Netaji which may be available in Russia and the possible reaction of the Russian side if were to request access to it. I would be grateful if you could kindly do the needful.

Wm. G. G. G.

Yours sincerely,

(R.L. Narayan)

Shri R. Sen  
Ambassador of India  
Moscow.

Encl: two.

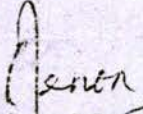


(269) 4/3/96

**PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE**

Forwarded herewith is a copy of a letter addressed to PM by Shri Pradip Bose regarding material on Netaji Subash Chandra Bose available in Russia.

MEA's comments in the matter may kindly be forwarded.

  
(Prabhakar Menon)  
Joint Secretary (PMO)  
2.3.1996

Joint Secretary (EE), MEA

PMO VO No. 1139/M/JS(M)/96



*Pradip Bose*

Registered with A/D

19, Nizamuddin, East  
New Delhi-110013  
Phone : 4615265  
Fax : 4633623

February, 1996

Dear Mr. Rao,

During my recent visits to Calcutta, I had the opportunity of a detailed discussion with three scholars - Dr. Hari Vasudevan, Dr. Purabi Roy and Dr. S. Dutta Gupta - who, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, are researching Russian historical material.

They told me that they had found some interesting material in Russia relating to my uncle, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. They feel strongly that a systematic research into the material on him, which is still not open to the public, is vitally necessary. According to them, the Russian authorities are prepared to open up those "secret" files only if the Indian government makes a formal, written request to them to do so.

The above mentioned scholars have informed me that in spite of several requests made by the Asiatic Society to the Indian government, it seems reluctant to take this step.

If this is true (and I have no special reasons to disbelieve the scholars), I fail to understand the Indian government's reluctance, especially when, since 1992, the Russian government has already opened up its top secret files held by different departments, including those of the KGB. Under these circumstances, I should be thankful if I could be enlightened on two points:

- 1) Is it true that the Indian government has refused to make a formal, written request to the Russian government to open up their files on Netaji to the above mentioned Indian scholars?
- 2) If it is true, then what could be the reason for such a stand since your government is convinced that Netaji died in an air crash on the 18th August 1945 at Taipei.

With the Russian presidential elections looming large on the horizon and the possibility of a political change in that country, I and the majority of the members of our family would like you to take the earliest possible step in the matter by making a formal request to the Russian government to open up the files on Netaji. Since this is a sensitive political issue in which there is widespread public concern, I should be thankful if you could kindly grant me an interview at your earliest convenience to discuss this issue in private. If this is not possible, then kindly send a written reply at the earliest.

Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

With kind regards,  
Yours sincerely,

*Pradip*



## (Unofficial Translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation

73/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of India in Moscow and with reference to the Embassy's note No. SA/83/95 dated July 27, 1995, has the honour to state that as a result of the investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow  
27 October 1995

Embassy of the Republic of India  
Moscow



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Intervention by H.E. Mr. Anatoly M. Drukov,  
Ambassador of Russia in India during the  
press-conference on the 21.02.96 in  
the Foreign Correspondents' Club

In Russia as well as in the erstwhile Soviet Union Subhash Chandra Bose is deeply honoured as one of the most outstanding sons of friendly Indian people, who dedicated his whole life to the liberation of India.

We extend great respect, understanding and attention to those actions aimed at finding out true circumstances of his demise.

Along with this, being a foreigner, I can speak about the matters concerning my country only. And now I can only reiterate what my Government has already said in the verbal note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation No 73/YuA dated October 27, 1995 as a reply to the request of the Indian Government:

"As a result of the investigations carried out at the collections of the Central Archives of the Federal Security Service of Russia and of the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, there was found no information on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the erstwhile USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years".

I realise that on the centenary anniversary of Subhash Chandra Bose too much emotion appears among the representatives of different strata of Indian society.

Hence I would rather avoid any additional comments on the subject.

Thank You.

ETA may wish to see remarks of Russian Ambassador  
on 21 Feb 96. AP  
24/2

ETA P. 24/2

AN ✓



The Pioneer

14.9.1995

# Papers relating to Netaji in KGB archives?

PTI

Calcutta

SEVERAL DOCUMENTS relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his mysterious disappearance are still lying in the inaccessible archives of the disbanded KGB and in the official archives of the Russian president in Kremlin.

Special permission of the Russian Government is required to scrutinise them and it is believed that examination of these documents may eventually unravel the mystery behind Netaji's disappearance at the end of the World War II, according to three scholars of the Asiatic Society who recently visited some of the 10 archives in Moscow under an

Indo-Russian cultural agreement.

Dr Purabi Roy (Jadavpur University), Dr Hari Vasudevan and Dr Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta (Burdwan Calcutta University) visited the Asiatic Society, as part of the cultural agreement signed between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, to compile accessible materials pertaining to the Indo-Russian relations during 1917 and 1947.

They told newsmen here that they faced "utmost" difficulty in studying the available documents in the archives.

Since the available documents relating to Indian history were mostly in "disarray," the archives in the KGB office and in the President's archive in Kremlin are expected to reveal the hitherto unknown facts about

Netaji, they felt.

Asiatic Society general secretary Chandan Roychowdhury said the Prime Minister would be moved to request the Russian President to allow Indian scholars to Kremlin and also in the KGB Moscow for collecting more information about Indian leaders.

The scholars, who spent about \$ 6,000 dollars to get access to the archives in Moscow, said that in most cases, they were not allowed to study the required files and documents. The problems were further accentuated due to 'restriction' imposed by a section of officials of the Indian embassy in Moscow, they alleged.

On the revealing facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, they said that documents at the archives of the External Affairs

Ministry of the Russian Federation indicated that Russian agent V C Sayadyant, who was allowed to function in India by the British Government, carried a letter from Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in August, 1946 to Moscow on way to ask about Netaji's whereabouts.

Moreover, the scholars quoted an article of V Turadnov, a co-editor of *Asia and Africa Today*, found among the archival materials, to say that the Russian agent sought to convey the message to Moscow in September, 1946, that the Soviets might have to consider "Forward Bloc as one of the major political parties in India and its leader Subhas Chandra Bose". These references point to Netaji being alive even in 1946, the scholars said.

Dir. (Hk)

JS/EA

2/18/95



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Ministry of External Affairs  
(Europe East Division)

PR

Placed below is a letter\* addressed to PM by Shri Pradip Bose regarding material on Netaji Subash Chandra Bose available in Russia. PMO have sought the comments of the Ministry of External Affairs.

3680/FS/96  
8/3

F/A

2. The MEA has, in fact, formally approached the Russian Government for information regarding the veracity of press reports which have appeared from time to time on the presence of Netaji in the erstwhile Soviet Union after 1945. The Russian Government has informed us that, on checking their records, they do not have any evidence to this effect. A copy of the Note Verbale\* from the Russian Foreign Ministry is enclosed.

F/B

3. It may be mentioned that, recently, Shri Ashish Ray, grandson of Netaji's elder brother, had addressed a press conference in Delhi at which he had released a copy of the Russian Note asserting this position. The Russian Ambassador Drukov was also present at the press conference and had confirmed the authenticity of the Russian Note. A copy of the statement made by Ambassador Drukov is also enclosed.

F/C

4. Pursuant to an Agreement signed between the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, scholars of the Asiatic Society had recently researched Russian historical material on Netaji. A copy of an article in the Pioneer\* (14 September, 1995) detailing their findings is enclosed.

5. It would appear that:

- i) The Asiatic Society scholars have unearthed no hard evidence of Netaji's stay in the Soviet Union after 1945.
- ii) They have referred to certain secret KGB files and Presidential archives in which this information is supposedly available; and
- iii) They have requested Government of India to make a formal request to the Russian Government for access to these files.

6. Dr Bose has gone a step further and has requested Government of India to seek access to these files for the scholars of the Asiatic Society.

7. It would be appreciated that no country in the world would permit access by foreign governments, let alone scholars from foreign countries, to its intelligence files. We have no evidence that such files exist; on the contrary, the Russian Government has categorically told us that they have no evidence in their archives that Netaji was in the USSR after 1945.



8. The Russian Government has no reason to hide any information which it may have on the subject, since it was the Soviet Union, which it disowns, which was responsible for any action in this regard.

9. In the circumstances, it is felt that it would not be appropriate for Government of India to make a formal request to the Russian Government to open their KGB/Presidential archives to the Asiatic Society scholars. This would amount to our disbelieving the Russian Government's categorical and official statement on the subject.

*R. L. Narayan*  
(R.L. Narayan)  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
7.3.1996

3630/FS/96

958/SSO(EE)/96

*FS*

*S. I. Mishra*  
8/3

JS (M), PMO

PM would like our Ambassador in Moscow to make discreet enquiries at a high level to ascertain, if possible, the existence of such information in Russia; and the possible reaction of the Russian side if we were to request access.

Foreign Secy. may kindly see.

870/11/P/21/96-101  
dated 26/3/96

*Senon*  
25/3/96

Foreign Secy

May pl. see.

*S. I. Mishra*  
27/3

Amb. Sen.





भारत का दूतावास, मास्को

EMBASSY OF INDIA, 26

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha

MOSCOW

Tel. No. 297-0820

September 16 1991

./.

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and has the honour to enclose herewith a collection of documents on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, at one time a President of the Indian National Congress and a leading figure in the Indian freedom movement, received from Mr. Chitta Basu, Member of Parliament and General Secretary, All India Forward Bloc, a group founded by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and at present a constituent of the Left Front Government in the Indian state of West Bengal.

2. In these documents there are suggestions quoting the then Soviet Ambassador in Kabul and the Soviet Vice Consul in Teheran to the effect that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose might have found his way to the Soviet Union after the alleged aeroplane crash in August 1945. As recently as March 5 1990, The Hindustan Times, an Indian daily newspaper, quoted a scholar of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies to the effect that there are two Soviet scholars who have applied to the Government of the USSR for permission to examine classified documents.

3. In the light of the current policy on Soviet national archives the Embassy of India would appreciate if any material that sheds light on the fate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the archives of Soviet organisations, including security organisations, is made available to the Embassy of India.

4. The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR the assurances of its highest consideration.

Seal,   
ole

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Government of USSR,  
Moscow.

Encl. as above.





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भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Polye  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

No SA/83/95

July 27, 1995

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and has the honour to refer to correspondence resting with their Note Verbale No. 2/YuA of 8 January, 1992, regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Enclosed is a booklet which contends that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose may have come to the former Soviet Union in 1945. There has been further speculation in this context reportedly on the basis of archival materials. In view of this, it would be highly appreciated if all materials available on the subject could be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently.

The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation the assurances of its highest consideration.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation  
(South Asia Department)  
Moscow



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(rough translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Russian Federation

No. 2/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of Republic of India and with reference to the Embassy's Note dated 16 September 1991, has the honour to inform that according to the data in the Central and Republican Archives, no information whatsoever is available on the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 and thereafter.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow  
8 January 1992

Embassy of the  
Republic of India  
Moscow



(Unofficial Translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation

73/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of India in Moscow and with reference to the Embassy's note No. SA/83/95 dated July 27, 1995, has the honour to state that as a result of the investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow  
27 October 1995

Embassy of the Republic of India  
Moscow



HT 10/12/85

## Fresh probe into Netaji's death sought

RANCHI, Dec. 9 (UNI)

All India Forward Bloc general secretary Chitta Basu, MP, has demanded constitution of a fresh commission to ascertain whether Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose actually died in an air crash in Japan.

He told newsmen here yesterday that the job would not be difficult if the Government sent research scholars to those countries where Netaji might have visited. They should also go through the relevant documents in the archives of Russia and the erstwhile Soviet countries, Britain, Japan, the US, China and Saigon.

Mr Basu said that the former Prime Minister Morarji Desai had expressed doubt in Parliament in 1978 about Netaji's death in the air-crash in Japan. The issue still remained a mystery which needed an immediate probe, he added. Mr Basu said that the Government had a responsibility to find out the truth about the death of Netaji, who was an outstanding personality.

He said that any attempt at bringing Netaji's ashes without clearing the doubt would be disastrous. He, however, noted with satisfaction the decision of the Union Government sponsored Netaji's birth centenary celebration committee not to discuss the ashes issue since the matter was not relevant for the celebration.

The Forward-Bloc MP said that two earlier probe bodies—Khosla Committee and Shah Nawaz Commission—could not come to a definite conclusion about Netaji's death.

May 1945 - 12

Jul 1945

Am 12/12

Am 13/12

303/2/12





492/POL/95  
14.11.95

**Pripuran Singh Haer**  
**Charge d'Affaires**

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Poly  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

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MOS/POL/125/1/90

October 31, 1995

Vide his letter No. MOS/AMB/979/95 dated July 27, 1995, Ambassador had informed you that he had taken up with the Foreign Office the question of examination of all materials to finally determine whether Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had entered or stayed in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 and in subsequent years. We have now been informed by the Foreign Office vide their note No. 73/YuA dated October 27, 1995 that after thorough investigations of all concerned records, there is no information whatsoever of Netaji having stayed on the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 and in subsequent years. The letter from Ambassador Kotov forwarding the note categorically asserts that "we can be sure that Netaji has never set foot on Russian soil" and that "extensive research can hardly leave any doubts" in this regard. A copy of Ambassador Kotov's letter and the Foreign Office note are enclosed.

2. I would like you to please bring this to the attention of Foreign Secretary and EAM.

Yours sincerely

*[Signature]*

(Pripuran Singh Haer)

Shri R.L. Narayan  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
Ministry of External Affairs  
New Delhi



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H.E. Mr. Ronen Sen  
Ambassador of India  
to the Russian Federation

Dear Ronen,

Enclosed You will find our note concerning Subhash Chandra Bose. Do believe that we have tried our best to discover any relevant facts.

Unfortunately, I am profoundly distressed being unable to provide any positive information on the subject of not the least importance for the Indian public. Alas, by now it appears that we can be sure that Netaji has never set foot on the Russian soil. Extensive research carried out upon the latest request of Yours can hardly leave any doubts to this effect.

Sincerely Yours,

  
Yu. Kotov



(Unofficial Translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation

73/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of India in Moscow and with reference to the Embassy's note No. SA/83/95 dated July 27, 1995, has the honour to state that as a result of the investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow  
27 October 1995

Embassy of the Republic of India  
Moscow



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МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

№ 73/ЮА

*(No evidence of visit of SCARP  
in 1945 or after is found)  
NV saying that  
Subhash Chandra Bose  
did not (never) visit  
Ruma. My interview.  
13/11/95*

Министерство Иностранных Дел Российской Федерации  
свидетельствует свое уважение Посольству Республики Индии в Москве  
и со ссылкой на ноту Посольства № **SA** /83/95 от 27 июля 1995 года  
имеет честь сообщить, что в результате проведенной проверки по  
фондам Центрального архива Федеральной службы безопасности России  
и Российского центра хранения и изучения документов новейшей  
истории каких-либо сведений о пребывании Субхаш Чандра Боса в  
1945 году и последующие годы на территории бывшего СССР не  
выявлено.

*(M/S)  
has read on  
on 31/10/95  
was already taken  
re file 1/10/95*

Министерство пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Посольству  
уверения в своем высоком уважении.



Москва, "27" октября 1995 года

ПОСОЛЬСТВУ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ИНДИИ

г. Москва



# Pranab's mission revives Netaji's death row

From Subhamoy Chatterjee

CALCUTTA, Oct. 21  
External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee's reported unscheduled airdash from New York to Germany yesterday to try and secure consent of Netaji's wife, Mrs Emily Shenkel Basu and daughter, Ms Anita Basu, on bringing "Netaji's ashes" from Japan has raked up the controversy over the great patriot's death in the Taihoku aircrash.



Turn to page 4

The Forward Bloc, veteran followers of Netaji and some of his close relations have also called into question, the motive of the ruling party at the Centre in attempting this at a time when some recent findings claim to have pointed to Netaji's having been in Siberian Russia a year after the alleged crash.

A front page news item in the mass circulation *Ananda Bazar Patrika* today reported that Mr Mukherjee's Berlin mission, apparently undertaken with the knowledge of the Prime Minister, was received with a sense of shock and suspicion by Netaji's ardent supporters. It was said in the story that Mr Mukherjee was trying to bring back the "ashes", kept in the Renkoji Temple near Tokyo for over four decades, to India so that the nation could pay a befitting homage to the great leader in his centenary year. The authorities in Japan, which the External Affairs Minister visited recently, had also expressed the wish that the "ashes" of the INA commander-in-chief be taken to his own country.

Commenting on this development, Forward Bloc's

general secretary Chitta Basu, said that the party made its position clear after the Prime Minister had issued a statement in Singapore that the Government of India could not bring back the ashes due to the Opposition of some political parties, indirectly implying Forward Bloc. Mr Basu said he had written to Mr Rao that the late Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, had told Parliament that the Government received some information subsequent to the findings of the Shah Nawaz Khan and Khosla Committees. On the basis of that it could be said that the aircrash was not the conclusive proof of Netaji's death. This continued to be the Government's position.

"Unless he died in the aircrash, how can you say that this was his ashes," the Forward Bloc leader asked. Mr Basu also said that he had a discussion with Mr Mukherjee at the personal level. The latter had said he would resume the dialogue which he never did.

Netaji's nephew, Mr Amiya Nath Basu, said he had written to the Prime Minister stating that there was sufficient evidence of Netaji's

being in Russia in 1946. He said that an American bomber crashed at Taihoku in 1944 and photographs of the wreckage "were attempted to be passed off as the damaged plane in which Subhas Chandra Bose was alleged to be travelling". He demanded that the Government of India ask the Government of Russia to allow examination of the KGB files and request the Governments of the UK and the USA to disclose their intelligence files about Netaji.

He alleged that a request had been made on behalf of the Government of India not to show any file regarding Netaji to Indian scholars visiting that country. The allusion was to the visit by a team from the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

According to Mr Samar Guha, a Netaji's follower and a former member of the Lok Sabha, the Society team had stumbled on some "revealing facts" indicating that Netaji was in Omsk, a town near Bladivostok in Siberia. Similar indications were given by Mr Vinogradov, a Russian scholar, in a journal named "Echoplanety" in 1992.

Mr Guha alleged that the Society

scholars were not allowed to visit Omsk, Mr Mukherjee, he alleged, had summoned the Indian Ambassador in Russia, Mr Ramen Sen to Delhi and also met the Society scholars. He allegedly asked them "not to go ahead with their inquiries". It was after this that Mr Mukherjee visited Japan. He said Mr Mukherjee had tried to seek the consent of Netaji's wife and daughter before on the question of bringing the so-called ashes. Now he was trying his best as "things are coming to a climax".

Incidentally, there is a petition before the Supreme Court challenging the conferment of the Bharat Ratna to Netaji "posthumously".

Mr Amiya Nath Basu said getting the consent of Anita Basu who could not have any information regarding the Taihoku aircrash "has no probative value and is of no consequence". He said he had told the Prime Minister in his letter that it would be "an act of sacrilege to foist the Renkoji Temple ashes on the people of India when they are not the ashes of Subhas Chandra Bose".

Netaji's  
file

125/1/90



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253



Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Russian Federation

N 73/8A

252

41

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation  
presents its compliments to the Embassy of the  
Republic of India in Moscow and with  
reference to the Embassy's note N/SA/83/95  
dated July 27, 1995 has the honour to  
inform that after ~~the checking~~ <sup>a request for investigation</sup> in the funds  
of the Central archival of the Federal Security  
Service of Russia and the Russian Center of  
~~storage and study~~ <sup>keeping and processing</sup> of documents of the current  
~~history~~ <sup>past</sup> history, any information concerning  
Subhash Chandra Bose staying in the  
territory of the former USSR in 1945 and  
next years has not been detected.

The Ministry takes this opportunity to renew  
to the Embassy assurances of its highest  
Consideration.

Moscow, October 27, 1995

Embassy of the Republic  
of India  
Moscow



МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

№ 73/ЮА

251

Министерство Иностранных Дел Российской Федерации свидетельствует свое уважение Посольству Республики Индии в Москве и со ссылкой на ноту Посольства № SA/83/95 от 27 июля 1995 года имеет честь сообщить, что в результате проведенной проверки по фондам Центрального архива Федеральной службы безопасности России и Российского центра хранения и изучения документов новейшей истории каких-либо сведений о пребывании Субхаш Чандра Боса в 1945 году и последующие годы на территории бывшего СССР не выявлено.

Министерство пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Посольству уверения в своем высоком уважении.



27 октября 1995 года

ПОСОЛЬСТВУ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ИНДИИ

г. Москва



CRASH

CRASH

CRASH

TELEX/TELEFAX

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From : Indembassy, Moscow

To : EAM's Office, New Delhi (11-3011463)

Shri D.B. Venkatesh Varma, APS to EAM from Minister (Pol)

Faxed below is the letter No. 2/YuA of January 8, 1992, in its original Russian and rough translation, on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)  
13/10/95

Copy by bag with the copy of enclosure to Shri R.L. Narayan, Joint Secretary (EE), Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)



249

(rough translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Russian Federation

No. 2/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of Republic of India and with reference to the Embassy's Note dated 16 September 1991, has the honour to inform that according to the data in the Central and Republican Archives, no information whatsoever is available on the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 and thereafter.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow  
8 January 1992

Embassy of the  
Republic of India  
Moscow

✓



МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

248

№. 2 /ЮА

Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации свидетельствует свое уважение Посольству Республики Индии и, ссылаясь на ноту Посольства от 16 сентября 1991 года, имеет честь сообщить, что по данным центральных и республиканских архивов каких-либо сведений о пребывании в Советском Союзе в 1945 и последующие годы бывшего президента Индийского национального конгресса Нетаджи Субхаш Чандра Боса не имеется.

Министерство пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Посольству уверения в своем высоком уважении.



"8" января 1992 года

ПОСОЛЬСТВУ РЕСПУБЛИКИ

ИНДИИ

г. Москва



39 247  
...N. CALCUTTA MOSS

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ARCHIVES OF KGB AND KREMLIN HAVE DOCUMENTS ON NETAJI ARCHIVES

CALCUTTA, SEPT 13 (PTI): SEVERAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO INDIA'S PROMINENT LEADER DURING THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE ARE STILL LYING IN THE INACCESSIBLE ARCHIVES OF THE DISBANDED KGB AND IN THE OFFICIAL ARCHIVE OF THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT IN THE KREMLIN.

SPECIAL PERMISSION OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IS REQUIRED TO SCRUTINIZE THEM AND IT IS BELIEVED THAT EXAMINATION OF THESE DOCUMENTS MAY EVENTUALLY UNRAVEL THE MYSTERY BEHIND BOSE'S DISAPPEARANCE AT THE END OF THE WORLD WAR-II, ACCORDING TO THREE SCHOLARS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY WHO RECENTLY VISITED SOME OF THE 10 ARCHIVES IN MOSCOW UNDER AN INDO-RUSSIAN CULTURAL AGREEMENT.

DR. PURABI ROY (JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY), DR. HARI VASUDEVAN AND DR. SOBHANLAL DUTTA GUPTA (BOTH OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY) VISITED MOSCOW AS SCHOLARS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, AS PART OF THE CULTURAL AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN ASIATIC SOCIETY AND THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, MOSCOW, TO COMPILE ACCESSIBLE MATERIALS PERTAINING TO INDO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS BETWEEN 1917 AND 1947.

THE SCHOLARS TOLD NEWSMEN HERE THAT THEY FACED 'UTMOST' DIFFICULTIES IN STUDYING THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE ERSTWHILE COMINTERN, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SOVIET UNION (CPSU), RUSSIAN FEDERATION, RUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF ECONOMY, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARCHIVES OF ARMY HISTORY AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

SINCE THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE INDIAN HISTORY WERE MOSTLY IN 'DISARRAY', THE ARCHIVES FEDERATION.

SINCE THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE INDIAN HISTORY WERE MOSTLY IN 'DISARRAY', THE ARCHIVES IN KGB OFFICE AND IN PRESIDENT'S ARCHIVE IN KREMLIN ARE EXPECTED TO REVEAL THE HITHERTO UNKNOWN FACTS ABOUT BOSE, THEY SAID.

BOSE, WHO WAS THE PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY, WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE DIED IN A PLANE CRASH IN THE SOUTH EAST ASIA IN 1944.

(MORE) PTI PB MPV

1 copy marked to him.

2 file pc.

File

Amal



09131151

NNNN.CALCUTTA MOS6

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ARCHIVES 2

CALCUTTA

ASIATIC SOCIETY'S GENERAL SECRETARY, DR. CHANDAN ROYCHOWDHURY, SAID INDIAN PRIME MINISTER P.V. NARASIMHA RAO WOULD BE REQUESTED TO SEEK HELP FROM THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT TO ALLOW INDIAN SCHOLARS TO HAVE ACCESS TO HIS ARCHIVE IN THE KREMLIN AND ALSO IN THE KGB'S ARCHIVE IN MOSCOW FOR COLLECTING MORE INFORMATION ABOUT INDIAN LEADERS.

THE SCHOLARS, WHO SPENT ABOUT 6,000 U.S. DOLLARS FOR HAVING ACCESS TO THE ARCHIVES IN MOSCOW, REGRETTED THAT IN MOST CASES, THEY WERE NOT ALLOWED TO STUDY THE REQUIRED FILES AND DOCUMENTS. THE PROBLEMS WERE FURTHER ACCENTUATED DUE TO 'RESTRICTION' IMPOSED BY A SECTION OF OFFICIALS OF THE INDIAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, THEY SAID.

ON THE REVEALING FACTS ABOUT SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, THEY SAID DOCUMENTS AT THE ARCHIVES OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION INDICATED THAT A RUSSIAN AGENT, V.G SAYADYANT, WHO WAS ALLOWED TO FUNCTION IN INDIA BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, CARRIED A LETTER FROM PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, ANOTHER INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEADER AND THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER, IN AUGUST, 1946, TO MOSCOW ON WAY TO TEHERAN 'WHICH HAD A MENTION ABOUT BOSE BEING ALIVE'.

MOREOVER, THE SCHOLARS QUOTED AN ARTICLE OF V. TURADZEV, A SUB-EDITOR OF 'ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY', FOUND AMONG THE ARCHIVAL MATERIALS, TO SAY THAT THE RUSSIAN AGENT SOUGHT TO CONVEY THE MESSAGE TO MOSCOW IN SEPTEMBER, 1946, THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE TO CONTACT 'FORWARD BLOC AS ONE OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA AND ITS LEADER SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'. THESE REFERENCES POINTED TO BOSE BEING ALIVE EVEN IN 1946, THE SCHOLARS SAID. (MORE) PTI PB MPV



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ARCHIVES 3 LAST

CALCUTTA

DR. PURABI ROY, PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY IN THE WEST BENGAL STATE, SAID THEY ALSO CAME TO KNOW THAT A TASS CORRESPONDENT HAD COLLECTED MORE INFORMATION ABOUT BOSE IN 1992 WHO QUESTIONED THE STUNNING SILENCE BEING MAINTAINED BY BOTH DELHI AND MOSCOW ABOUT BOSE'S WHEREABOUTS.

IT WAS ALSO FOUND IN THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS THAT THE 'PRAVDA', IN ITS 1946 EDITORIAL, BROUGHT OUT THE FIRST-EVER SENSATIONAL STORY ABOUT NETAJI, THEY SAID, ADDING THAT THERE WAS NO FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT THE NEWS ITEM.

BESIDES, THERE WERE REFERENCE TO BOSE'S WHEREABOUTS IN THE COMMUNICATION MADE BY THE FORMER SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN JACOB MALIK IN THE DOCUMENTS WE COLLECTED IN THE ARCHIVES IN MOSCOW, THE SCHOLARS SAID.

ALLEGING THAT THE INDIAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS DID NOT ALLOW THEM TO PROCEED FURTHER WITH THE DOCUMENTS, THEY SAID MOST OF THE ARCHIVAL MATERIALS HAD BEEN 'SOLD OUT' BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT TO THE SUPER POWERS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE, SOON AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION. MOST OF THE SUPERVISORS OF THE ARCHIVES HAD LEFT RUSSIA AND TAKEN SHELTER IN THE U.S., THEY SAID.

ALL THE THREE SCHOLARS WERE OF THE VIEW THAT THE 'HAPHAZARD' SERIALS OF THE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND 'LIMITED' TIME TO GO THROUGH HAD POSED 'SERIOUS PROBLEMS' TO THEM. 'WE ARE AFRAID THAT VITAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO INDIA MIGHT HAVE ALREADY GONE OUT OF RUSSIA SINCE MANY FILED WERE FOUND MISSING', DR. VASUDEVAN SAID. PTI PB MPV



Sept 19, 95

INDIAN EXPRESS NEW DELHI

# Govt apathy leaves Netaji's fate buried in Moscow's files

by Udayan Nambodiri

CALCUTTA, Sept 18: If historians are to be believed, two files lying in the archives of the disbanded KGB at Moscow may help solve the mystery shrouding the fate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Netaji's 'death' in an air crash in Taiwan's Taihoku airport in August 1945 remains to this day, the biggest enigma in the annals of the freedom movement. Even Mahatma Gandhi had refused to give credence to that story.

But a 'tragic' aspect of the Netaji disappearance story is the continued apathy of the Indian Government. Scholars are finding it an uphill task to persuade the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) to cooperate in order to unravel the truth behind the untimely death of the great nationalist leader.

Governments around the world are seized of the opportunities presented by the dissolution of USSR. They are encouraging their historians to go through the hitherto secret archives in Moscow and dig out facts lost behind the cobwebs of the iron curtain.

The Russian Government is

quite generous about opening up these archives," Dr Hari Vasudevan of Calcutta University's Russian Studies department told *Indian Express* here today. "But while scholars of most Western countries are making the most of the archives, we are suffering due to the quirky attitude of the MEA."

Dr Vasudevan had recently spent four months in Moscow as part of an Asiatic Society team studying and compiling material pertaining to Indo-USSR relations between 1917 and 1947.

Two other historians, apart from Dr Vasudevan were involved in the research. They are Dr Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta of Calcutta University and Dr Purabi Roy of Jadavpore University.

They required letters from the MEA to read the two files located at the KGB archives. The letter was a pre-requisite to obtain Russian Government's permission. But repeated requests to Salman Khurshid, Minister of State, and even the Prime Minister, went unheeded.

The most the Government would condescend to do was send a

note verbale' in late 1991 seeking clarifications as to Netaji's presence in the USSR in 1945. "To this the Russians send a few lines repeating the worn out Soviet stand," Dr Vasudevan said. But as evidence shows, the new dispensation at Moscow was not very truthful either.

The trio spent four months at Moscow this year ferreting out papers pertaining to Indo-Soviet relations during 1917 to 1947. This followed an agreement between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow.

What is heartening about archival research at the Russian front is that, by now other countries - especially those from the West - have succeeded in cataloguing documents kept in the erstwhile CPSU, Comintern, Russian Federation, Russian State Archive of Economy, Archives of Army History, etc.

One notable success was attained by Sweden which cracked the mystery behind the Wallenberg disappearance in Stalinist USSR during World War II.





M. Ganapathi  
Minister(Pol)

मन्त्रालय नयन

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भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Polye  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

MOS/POL/125/1/90

September 29, 1995

Kindly refer to your fax No.4360/JS(EA)/95 dated September 18, 1995 forwarding a report which had appeared in the "Pioneer" of September 14, 1995 on papers relating to Netaji. Ambassador had taken up this issue with the Foreign Office here in July 1995 and copies of the note verbale and Ambassador's letter to JS(EA) in this regard is enclosed for your information.

Yours sincerely,

(M. Ganapathi)

Shri T.C.A. Rangachari,  
Joint Secretary(EA),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Copy with a copy of fax under reference for information to  
Shri R.L. Narayan, Joint Secretary(EA), Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

*wa huj*  
(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Political)





**MFAX - 465**

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11/2 19163

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

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D.C.M.

F A X

No. 4360 /JS(EA)/95

18 September, 1995

From: Foreign New Delhi

To: Indembassy Moscow

Deputy Chief of Mission from JS(EA)

may pl discuss.

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min(1)

ANNEXED IS A PII REPORT WHICH APPEARED IN PIONEER  
of 14 September.

2. Would appreciate any comments you may have which  
could be sent by Bay, if necessary.

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(T.C.A. Ranyachari)

JOINT SECRETARY

C H R E

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2/2  
203  
The Pioneer

14 9 1995

## Papers relating to Netaji in KGB archives?

PTI

Calcutta

SEVERAL DOCUMENTS relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his mysterious disappearance are still lying in the inaccessible archives of the disbanded KGB and in the official archives of the Russian president in Kremlin.

Special permission of the Russian Government is required to scrutinise them and it is believed that examination of these documents may eventually unravel the mystery behind Netaji's disappearance at the end of the World War II, according to three scholars of the Asiatic Society who recently visited some of the 10 archives in Moscow under an

Indo-Russian cultural agreement.

Dr Purabi Roy (Jadavpur University), Dr Hari Vasudevan and Dr Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta (Burdwan Calcutta University) visited the Asiatic Society as part of the cultural agreement signed between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, to compile accessible materials pertaining to the Indo-Russian relations during 1917 and 1947.

They told newsmen here that they faced "utmost" difficulty in studying the available documents in the archives.

Since the available documents relating to Indian history were mostly in "disarray," the archives in the KGB office and in the President's archive in Kremlin are expected to reveal the hitherto unknown facts about

Netaji, they felt.

Asiatic Society general secretary Chandan Roychowdhury said the Prime Minister would be moved to request the Russian President to allow Indian scholars to Kremlin and also in the KGB archives in Moscow for collecting more information about Indian leaders.

The scholars, who spent about \$ 6,000 dollars to get access to the archives in Moscow, said that in most cases, they were not allowed to study the required files and documents. The problems were further accentuated due to 'restriction' imposed by a section of officials of the Indian embassy in Moscow, they alleged.

On the revealing facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, they said that documents at the archives of the External Affairs

Ministry of the Russian federation indicated that Russian agent V C Sayadyant, who was allowed to function in India by the British Government, carried a letter from Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in August, 1946 to Moscow on way from about Netaji's whereabouts, men-

Moreover, the scholars quoted an article of V Turadnov, a sub-editor of *Asia and Africa Today*, found among the archival materials, to say that the Russian agent sought to convey the message to Moscow in September, 1946, that the Soviets might have to contact "Forward Bloc as one of the major political parties in India and its leader Subhas Chandra Bose". These references pointed at Netaji being alive even in 1946 the scholars said.

Dir (Fk)

JS/EA

21/10/95





AMBASSADOR

EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
MOSCOW.

No.MOS/AMB/979/95

July 27, 1995

You will recall that vide their Note Verbale No.2/YuA of January 8, 1992 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation had informed us that as per data available in their Central and Republican Archives, there was no information available about the stay of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and subsequent years. However, speculation in this regard apparently continues to appear in the Indian press, particularly in the Bengali language press, based on what is reportedly new evidence gained from the archival material.

2. In view of this, I handed over the enclosed note verbale to Ambassador Kotov today conveying a request that we would appreciate another examination of all materials available on this subject to enable a final determination on whether Netaji entered or stayed in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 and in subsequent years. I hope that the official reply, when received in due course from the Russian Foreign Ministry, will finally set at rest speculation about what happened to Netaji. I hope that this reply will be received well before the commencement of Netaji's birth centenary celebrations.

3. This may please be brought to the attention of Foreign Secretary and EAM.

Yours sincerely,

*(Signature)*  
(R. Sen)

Shri R.L. Narayan,  
Joint Secretary(EE)  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

*31/7 - No discuss filing.*

*As instructed  
file No. MOS/ME/10/91  
has been merged into  
MOS/Pol/195/1/90*

*HH (Pol)*





भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
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6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Poly  
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Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

No SA/83/95

July 27, 1995

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and has the honour to refer to correspondence resting with their Note Verbale No. 2/YuA of 8 January, 1992, regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Enclosed is a booklet which contends that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose may have come to the former Soviet Union in 1945. There has been further speculation in this context reportedly on the basis of archival materials. In view of this, it would be highly appreciated if all materials available on the subject could be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently.

The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation the assurances of its highest consideration.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation  
(South Asia Department)  
Moscow



# COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

Samar Guha





## COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

What really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ? Did he really meet his end in an air crash at Taihoku in Formosa, on August 18, 1945 ? The news of his alleged accident was broadcast not in the form of any official communique either by the civil or the military authority of Japan. Japan was not yet occupied by the US Army, - its civil and military authority remained in tact. It was the news of the Domai Agency which was broadcast by the Tokyo Radio. In its first broadcast, 5 days after the alleged air crash, it was said that the dead body of Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, was flown to Tokyo. But subsequently in another broadcast it was reported that his body was cremated in Formosa.

Palpably, the broadcast appeared as nothing but a cooked-up story as it was not substantiated by any positive testimonials or documents. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India at that time, believed this news broadcast as true. Mahatma Gandhi along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wired Bose family at Calcutta, 'Not to perform sraddh ceremony, but to hold mild prayer.' Lord Wavell recorded his reaction in his 'Diary', 'I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much. It was just what should be given out if he wanted to go underground.' No Government, either of Japan or Wavell nor of the U.K. or the USA at that time or anytime thereafter officially confirmed the report of death of Subhas Chandra Bose.

### Gandhiji believed - 'Subhas is Alive'

Gandhiji went on telling the Indian people that he didn't believe Netaji's death news. On 30 Dec 1945 he told us, the Bengal Detenues, most of whom were the colleagues and associates of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in Dum Dum Jail of Calcutta : 'If someone shows me ashes even then I will not believe that Subhas is not alive. He is alive, - hiding somewhere'. He spoke in Hindi and remained with us for over an hour. Next day, on January 2nd, 1946, he told the press at Contai of Bengal : 'I believe Netaji is alive. He is hiding somewhere.' Gandhiji repeated his belief many times afterwards. After meeting Col. Habibur Rahman in the Red Fort Cell, who claimed to be the lone Indian who travelled with Netaji in the same plane that allegedly crashed, Gandhiji said 'Habib ! whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe Netaji is alive.' Later Gandhi told pressmen : 'Habibur Rahman made a soldier's statement to me.'

Why Gandhiji was so insistent to disbelieve the Japanese report of Netaji's air crash death ? Was it because of his 'inner voice' ? Many revealing facts came to be known 10 years later which positively indicated why Gandhiji said so. In 1991 an American document found in the archives of the Princeton University positively revealed why Gandhiji believed that 'Subhas is hiding somewhere'.



## Reaction of the British Government

What was the further reaction of Lord Wavell, India's Viceroy in 1945-46 ? A month after the record of his first reaction he noted again in his 'Diary' : 'According to the Japanese of Signapore, Subhas Chandra Bose is definitely dead, but I shall be skeptical till further confirmation.'

After hearing the Japanese broadcast on August 23, 1945, Lord Wavell immediately sent a mixed investigating team of the British and Indian experts to 'arrest Bose - dead or alive' and make a thorough probe into the whole affairs behind the Japanese story of Bose's death.

What was the findings of this Wavell team was not fully reported. But the British Govt. of India cryptically leaked out to the press that Bose died in the reported aircrash. However, what was the exact view of the Wavell Govt. about Subhas Chandra Bose, was secretly despatched to the Attlee Govt. in UK after 67 days of the reported aircrash by its Home Secretary, Mr. R.F.Mudie. It was marked 'Top Secret' and this report was published 30 years after in 'Volume VI' of the British document 'Transfer of Power, 1942-47'. In his lengthy report on Bose Mr. Mudie's confidential despatch noted inter-alia as regard the 'treatment of Bose' these were the following possibilities :

- a) Bringing back to India and try him either for waging War or under the Enemy Agent Ordinance ;
- b) Have him tried by a Court in Burma or Malay for waging War against the King in that country ;
- c) Have him tried by a Military Court outside India ;
- d) Intern him in India ;
- e) Intern him in some other British possessions, e.g., Seychelles islands;
- f) Leave him where he is and not ask for the surrender.'

After analyzing all the eventualities about these alternatives the report concluded 'in many ways the easiest course will be to live him where he is and not ask for his release. Of course, he might in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulty.'

Neither the Wavell Govt. of India nor the Attlee Govt. of U.K., after coming to the above conclusion, made any official confirmation about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose, though he was marked as the enemy number one of their Indian Empire. They deliberately kept silent about the report of Subhas Bose's presence in Russia.

## Pandit Nehru's Preverification

Everybody in India in 1945-46 disbelieved the Toyko story of Netaji's death. Moulana Azad, the then President of the Congress declined to make any obituary reference in memory of Bose in the first AICC Session held at Bombay on Sept. 23, 1945 after the Quit India Movement, saying, 'The circumstances in which the news of the death of Bose has reached us and the sources responsible for announcement don't make certain that Bose is in fact dead.'

An American journalist of Chicago Tribune, Alfred Wag, told Pandit Nehru on August



29, 1945 in Delhi that after the Japanese broadcast 'Bose was alive and seen 4 days ago in Saigon'. On Sept 11, 1945 Nehru himself told API at Jhansi, 'Like many other people, he did not believe the story about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose... I have received a number of reports, which have raised me in great doubt and I disbelieve the authenticity of the news'.

Every patriotic Indian expected that after coming into power on August 15, 1947 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Free India, would consider it as his first national duty to institute a high level investigation to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But he was found contrarily to adopt an unthinkable attitude of deliberate refusal to entertain any request for any inquiry about Netaji. Why after his own public statement that he disbelieved the news of Subhas Chandra Bose's death Pandit Nehru made a strange volte-face to adopt a completely reversed attitude ?

The answer to it can be found in the article of a former Editor of the Gujarati daily 'Janmabhumi' late Amritlal Seth, who accompanied Pandit Nehru, when he visited Singapore in 1946 as the guest of Admiral Mountbatten. Further evidence came from the text of the 'Nehru Oration' by Mountbatten. Shri Seth informed Sarat Chandra Bose immediately after coming back to India from Singapore, that Mountbatten warned Nehru that, 'If he played up Bose and his INA he will be taking the risk of presenting India on a platter to Bose when he returned back to India'. Yes, Panditji started to instantly comply with the advice of Mountbatten from Singapore itself. He shockingly cancelled his already agreed programme to place a wreath at the spot of the INA Memorial that was demolished by the British Army soon after reoccupation of Singapore. Returning home from Singapore Pandit Nehru was found to shut his mouth completely about anything that concerned Netaji and his INA.

### **Inquiry by Shah Nawaz Committee**

After coming to power as the Prime Minister of Free India, Pandit Nehru, adopted a policy of abject indifference and negligence, nay a covert opposition to everything about Netaji and his heroic legends. Pandit Nehru's worst stance was his stubborn opposition to all requests and appeals made in the Parliament and outside for instituting a judicial inquiry about disappearance of Netaji. For 10 years he turned down all such appeals. But when the citizens of Calcutta decided to set up a non-official inquiry committee in 1956 with Dr. Radha Binode Pal, an internationally reputed jurist of the eminence of Tokyo Trial as its Chairman, Pandit Nehru suddenly announced to form an inquiry committee with Shah Nawaz Khan as its Chairman having no judicial status for the inquiry. But strangely, when even such a 'statement-collecting-committee' was conducting inquiry, Panditji forestalled the very objective of its inquiry by making a statement in the Parliament in which he said : 'I have no doubt today of the fact of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death, is, I think settled beyond doubt'.

How could Shah Nawaz Committee dare to unsettle this 'Settled fact beyond doubt' of Pandit Nehru ? This inquiry, this, queerly concluded in its findings : 'At no stage was the casket containing the ashes sealed, no formal receipt issued, nor again continuous watch kept over it. So, although there cannot be absolute certainty about it, nevertheless, ashes kept in the Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. If ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot be obviously the final resting place.' What an absurd findings! Can the issue of death of a man like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose be confirmed by not being 'absolutely certain', but by questioning it with 'if' ?



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Shah Nawaz Committee, however, helped to have access to some very vital documents that were kept secret for 10 years after 1947. These documents showed that according to the intelligence report, in all probability, Netaji took shelter in Soviet Russia under the cover of a cooked-up story of his death. These documents also indicated that Gandhiji and Panditji received a letter from Netaji asking Nehru for making arrangement for his repatriation to India. Particular imports of these documents will be discussed later. But it should be mentioned here that Pandit Nehru suppressed all the vital intelligence reports from the public till 1956.

In 1951 Panditji had sent S.A. Ayer, a former Publicity Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Govt., to Tokyo to secretly contact Col. Tada to ascertain from him the report about Netaji's death. Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada, were attached to the Japanese wartime Military Headquarters at Saigon. They were the two high ranking Japanese officers who were deputed to prepare and execute the escape-plan of Netaji by Field Marshall Terauchi, highest in command of the S.E. Asia Jap Army. In his confidential report to Nehru, Ayer stated : 'This time I could gather very important information. Col. Tada told me that after the end of the war when Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Netaji and asked him to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory — all help will be given to him.'

In his statement in Lok Sabha, Panditji mentioned other parts of Ayer's confidential report to him which appeared to lend support to Tokyo broadcast, but this vital part was withheld from the House.

Pandit Nehru's conscience, however, appeared to prick during the last few month before he passed away. Although he repeatedly stated in the Parliament that 'Netaji's death was a settled fact beyond doubt' he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji on May 13, 1962 in reply to his letter that 'You asked me to send you proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I can't send you any precise and direct proof.....' Again just about a month before his death replying to a letter from Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, Panditji wrote : 'I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death.' Ah ! When it was the time for proper investigation, Nehruji deliberately stalled it !

### Confusing Japanese Documents

Japan is the only country which could definitely say or unsay if the report of the plane crash was true. Some documents and information placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee by the Japanese authority revealed a few vital facts :

Firstly, Japan didn't officially make any statement either by its civil or military authority to confirm the report of plane crash on August 18, 1945 involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Domai News Agency, a private body, made it over the Tokyo Radio. Later S.A. Ayer, in course of his deposition before Shah Nawaz Committee, told that on request from the Japanese authority at Tokyo, the text of the broadcast was prepared by him and not either by the Japanese Govt. or the Domai News Agency.

Secondly, the plane which reportedly crashed carried 13/14 passengers of which the Pilot, Co-pilot, Radio Engineer, Genl. Shedei, Netaji, — these five persons, who were required to fly to Dairen, reportedly died whereas all the other passengers miraculously survived with minor injuries, although the plane was reported to have had nose-dived, caught instant fire and broke into two parts. Non-Official, Japanese Expert Committee contradicted such a report as 'absurd'. After vertical nose-dive crash of



a burning plane from a sufficient altitude such selective survivals and selective killings were unthinkable according to their findings.

Thirdly, Japanese authority produced three - four photographs - first one of bandaged Habibur Rahman sitting by the side of a casket, second one of an urn reportedly carrying the ashes of Bose and the third one of a canvas-covered bundle marked as containing the alleged death body of Bose. If the Japanese could take trouble of getting four photographs why another photograph of uncovered body of Bose could not be taken if such a body existed at all? An uncovered body of Bose would have convinced each and everybody of India and of the Anglo-American Power that Bose really died in the aircrash. One such single photograph could have settled all doubts and all controversies about the report of Bose's death. Japanese authority failed to answer convincingly why they could not take a photograph of uncovered body of Bose if he really died.

Fourthly, Japanese Foreign Ministry submitted a cremation certificate of Bose issued by the Taihoku Municipality. It was written in Japanese script. On rendering this certificate into English it was strangely found that it was issued for a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who died of heart failure. Okura's age, the cause and date of his death and cremation, - nothing tallied with the report of the Tokyo broadcast about 'Chandra Bose.'

Fifthly, although it was stated that Genl. Shedei also died at Taihoku on the same date as a result of the aircrash, but his pension certificate showed that he died in the warfield. Genl. Shedei was appointed to command Japanese Kwantang Army in Manchuria after Russia attacked this Jap territory. Japanese could not produce any record of death and cremation certificate of Genl. Shedei supporting his death at Taihoku.

These few Japanese documents left rather indicative clues to infer that the report of aircrash was just a cooked-up story to cover Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia.

### Futile Khosla Commission

Though the Indian people didn't accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Panditji himself also agreed that 'something should be done to finalize the question of Netaji's death' - nothing was done by the Govt. till 1967. In this year about 350 members of Parliament belonging to all parties signed a memorandum and submitted it to the Central Govt. urging for a fresh judicial inquiry about Netaji. In no time before, such a memorandum was ever signed by the majority members of the Parliament for submitting to the Govt. for a national cause. However, it took over two years' persistent agitation to make the Govt. of India agree to set up on July 11, 1970 a 'one-man judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' A retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court was appointed its Chairman. After 4 years of unnecessarily prolonged sittings of the Commission, Justice Khosla submitted his report to the Govt. on June 30, 1974. Khosla Commission's Report appeared just as a chimera of a judicial findings, - worse than the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee. Mr. Khosla made no effort to search for national and international documents connected with the Netaji affairs, made no analysis of the Japanese documents produced before the Commission, brushed aside the evidence of the 84 Indian witnesses giving cursory attention to them, while devoting his attention mainly on the evidence of five Japanese witnesses claiming as co-passengers of Netaji and the fifth one of a doctor, who said to have treated



injured Bose. Though none of them could produce any document to verify their identities, statements and claims. Mr. Khosla treated them as 'truthful witnesses' to draw his conclusion exclusively on their evidence that Bose died after the reported air crash.

Worst still, Mr. Khosla exceeded all his limits in making political commentary in unbelievably derogatory terms by calling Netaji a 'Puppet', a 'Pawn', a 'Quisling' of Japan, etc. in his report. In his report at least in 27 places he made outrageous remarks denigrating the revolutionary personality of Netaji. This man, violating all judicial norms, was seen to bring a 'present' for Mrs. Indira Gandhi while returning from Taiwan and write her biography while working as the Chairman of the Commission. Further, before his report was placed on the table of Lok Sabha he published a book calling it 'Last Days of Netaji'. Mr. Khosla was severely indicted by the Calcutta High Court for his derogatory remarks about Netaji. He also faced a Privilege Motion in Lok Sabha for violating the terms of the Inquiry Commission. But he somehow escaped harsh punishments by offering unconditional apology to the High Court and the Speaker of Lok Sabha. Thus, because of his tendentious behaviour of the Chairman of the Netaji Inquiry Commission, the judicial and moral basis of his findings were vitiated in such a way that its whole objective was completely frustrated.

### **Findings Rejected by the Morarji Govt.**

Because of the sudden imposition of Emergency in June 1975 and arrest of Opposition leaders, including the present writer, the report of Khosla Commission was debated in Lok Sabha as late as in 1978 after the formation of the Janata Govt. A documentary book, 'Netaji - Dead or Alive?' written by the writer was released by the then President of India Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy. The long debate and the documentary materials published in the book convinced a man of very rigid outlook like Shri Morarji Desai, that the two inquiries about Netaji failed to serve the purpose of the investigation. In reply to the debate, Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai said in a statement in Lok Sabha on Sept 3, 1978 :

'Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive.'

It was very vital statement. Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting Khosla Commission in 1970. And now in 1978 Shri Morarji Desai rejected the findings of both the inquiries to reopen the issue of disappearance of Netaji. It now, consequently, devolved on the Morarji Govt. to find out, - then, what really happened to Netaji? Morarjibhai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' in an effort to resolve the Netaji issue as he felt that after so many years any further judicial inquiry would not serve the main purpose. But before his suggestion could be materialized the Janata Govt. fell.

### **Decision of Investigative Inquiry by the Chandra Sekhar Govt.**

The whole issue of renewal of Netaji inquiry remained muted for about 10 years. After formation of the Janata Dal Govt. the issue was taken up with the Govt. of Shri V.P. Singh, who asked his Minister of External Affairs, Shri I.K. Gujral to 'look into the matter'. But before any step could be taken, V.P. Singh Govt. had to quit. The matter was again taken up with the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. In both these moves the President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman very patriotically extended his moral support to the cause behind the inquiry.



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In fact, he took initiative to ask both Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to fulfil the national duty to find out what really happened to Netaji. In a letter on May 29, 1992, The President assured that he will again pursue the matter of Investigative inquiry about disappearance of Netaji with the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao. His letter :

**PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

New Delhi,  
May 29, 1992.

Dear Shri Samar Guha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 27. I shall pursue the matter with the P.M.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R.VENKATARAMAN

Prof. Samar Guha,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta - 700032.

Finally, On March 26, 1991 the Deputy Minister of External Affairs informed the writer in a letter : 'The Ministry has initiated a High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development.' His letter :

**DEPUTY MINISTER  
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
INDIA**

No.489/DM/91

March 26, 1991.

Dear Prof. Samarjee,

1. Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.
3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,  
Ex-Member of Parliament,  
8/2, Central Park,  
CALCUTTA - 700032.



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But because of resignation of Chandra Sekhar Govt. this laudable decision about the Investigative Inquiry remained hanging in uncertainty.

### **A National Task for Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao**

It appears that the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has not been posted with all facts about the rejection of the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission and the subsequent decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute an 'Investigative Inquiry' about the issue of disappearance of Netaji. Otherwise the Govt. would not have used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna for Netaji. Now, it is a legal, moral and sacred patriotic task for Narasimha Rao Govt. to effectively work-out the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a 'High level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' and to 'finalize', to quote Pandit Nehru, the poignant issue that remained hanging about the fate of the epic hero of the Indian liberation.

### **An Investigative Inquiry, - Why ?**

Why an Investigative Inquiry instead of another public inquiry about Netaji ? Only four Japanese, - the Chief of the Staff of the Japanese Army of the Tokyo Headquarters, Field Marshall Terauchi of S.E. Asia Japanese Command at Saigon, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari-Kikan and Col. Tada, a trusted officer of Terauchi's Headquarter, were the four key figures, who programmed and executed the escape-plan of Netaji to convey him to Russian territory of Siberia across the Manchurian border. All these principal persons are now dead. Political situation in Japan has now changed so much, that few people of its administration after 47 years can be expected to recollect the episode of the political move around the movement of Subhas Chandra Bose after fall of Japan.

Now mainly the Secret documents, reports, informations and findings of various inquiries that are likely to be available in the archives of Japan, UK, USA, Taiwan and most importantly of former the USSR, now the Russian Federation, can provide positive facts about what really happened to Netaji.

Soon after the report of the aircrash involving Netaji, the Wavell Govt. of India, Adml. Mountbatten of S.E. Asia Allied Command and Genl. Mac Arthur of the U.S. Pacific Army - instituted three 'immediate inquiry' separately to verify the truth about the alleged aircrash death of Subhas Chandra Bose. After reoccupation of Formosa (now Taiwan), on orders from Genl. Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify whether any air accident took place at Taipei (Taihoku) airport on August 18, 1945. And if so, whether Subhas Chandra Bose was in it.

None of the reports of these inquiries or their findings have been published. Only Wavell Govt. non-officially leaked-out to the press that its inquiry found that the report of aircrash death of Subhas Chandra Bose was correct. However, this was only for the consumption of the Indian public. Neither the Govt. of Wavell nor Mountbatten nor the Govt. of U.K. at any time officially confirmed Netaji's death. What the Wavell Govt. came to know after its investigation was secretly communicated to the U.K. Govt. in the form of 'Top Secret' despatch by R.F. Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy which has already been quoted earlier. This report informed Attlee Govt. that under the cover of the story of his death Bose took asylum in Russia.

### **Mountbatten's Inquiry Report**

Mountbatten's inquiry report was never published, nor its findings were made known. A few pages of Mountbatten's Diary were given to the Shah Nawaz Committee in which it was



found that the British Investigation Officer observed : '..... it appears that the whole thing is suspicious.... The description of the funeral is more suspicious.... Perhaps the air crash was cooked-up at Taihoku. Possibly after that Bose escaped somewhere.'

In 1978 the then Indian High Commissioner in U.K., Shri N.G.Goray, wrote to Lord Mountbatten : 'I would like to refer particularly to pages 137, 138 and 139 of Volume VI (of the Transfer of Power, 1942-47)' : that the Govt. of India knew that Shri Bose was alive and they were discussing how he should be dealt with. As you took over from Lord Wavell it will not be wrong to presume that you must have come to know every detail about the incident.'

Mountbatten very much knew the outcome of the inquiry which he himself ordered as the S.E.Asia Allied Command. And further as being a Viceroy of India, succeeding Lord Wavell, he had many reports about Netaji in possession of his Govt. He was keenly interested about Bose as he warned Pandit Nehru at Singapore in early 1946 'not to play-up Bose and his INA', as he believed that Bose was alive. But Lord Mountbatten preferred to evasively reply to Goray on March 10, 1978 : '... there was no official record of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives.' Look ! how truthfully behaved the 'Admiral of the Fleet, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, KG, PC, GCB, OM, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, DSO, FRS, Braodlands, Romsey, Hampshire 905 9 D. !'

However, evasive though he tried to be in his reply to Shri Goray - one thing he did truthfully that he didn't confirm Bose's death.

The British Global Military Intelligence of the War days, briefly called CSDIC, deputed B.C.Chakraborty, an Indian senior officer, to interrogate Col. Habibur Rahman. Chakraborty told Khosla Commission : 'After analysing all the reports that were in hands at the time with the CSDIC, it was obvious that Col. Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese Govt. concealed facts. Their reply was nothing other than a product of conspiracy regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945 : None of them (the British Military Intelligence or the U.S.) believed that the information about Netaji's death could be correct'.

It is interesting to note that according to the evidence of Mir Chandani and B.C.Mallik, two former Chiefs of the Indian Intelligence, they told Khosla Commission that the Govt. of U.K. and the Govt. of India that pursued all the reports about Bose are still in possession of Govt. of U.K. besides the reports of Mountbatten's inquiry which, according to their policy decision, will be published after 100 years of 'The Transfer of Power'.

### Probe by Genl. Mac Arthur

The investigation report of Genl. Mac Arthur's team was very vital because the U.S. team reached Tokyo and Formose (Taiwan) much earlier than the British team. This U.S. team examined all the concerned Japanese officer at Tokyo and Taihoku and repeatedly interrogated Col. Habibur Rahman. But nothing has been published so far about Mac Arthur's inquiry.

However, some facts were indirectly known about this report. At the time of Tokyo Trial after the War, Genl. Tojo, Genl. Fuzyama and other highest war-time Jap leaders, who were facing trial, were found to stand up and bow down their heads very reverentially when Chandra Bose's name was mentioned during the session of the Tokyo Trial. The U.S. jurists of the Trial being curiously intrigued by the performance of the civil and military Jap leaders of the war-days asked their Indian colleague, Dr. Radha Vinod Pal, why the Japanese behaved in that way when the name of Subhas Chandra Bose was mentioned ? They were told that it was the Japanese tradition of showing respect to the man whom they held in highest esteem. The U.S. jurist told Dr. Pal that 'what they know about U.S. inquiry, Subhas Chandra Bose didn't die in the alleged air crash, - he escaped'. This information was given to the press by



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Dr. Pal after returning to India. Uptill now the U.S. Govt. have not mentioned anything about the report and the findings of the Mac Arthur's inquiry.

### Investigation by Taipei Mayor

The Mayor of Taipei (Taihoku) of Taiwan (Formosa) soon after Chinese reoccupation of Formosa about a month after fall of Japan made an inquiry to verify the report of Bose's death in an aircrash at the Taipei airfield. The President of the Nationalist China, Genl. Chiang- Kai- Shek had very friendly relation with Subhas Chandra Bose in pre-war days. According to the report of H.V.Kamath, Prokash Vir Shastri and Mulka Govind Reddy — all former members of Parliament, who visited Taiwan on invitation by an unofficial organisation there, - the Mayor of Taipei told them that their inquiry could not verify the report of any aircrash at Taipei on August 18, 1945 involving Subhas Chandra Bose.

Taihoku airfield was the place of occurrence of the reported aircrash. But Pandit Nehru didn't allow Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taipei (Taihoku). However, Khosla Commission was allowed to visit this city, but Mr. Khosla refused to write to the Govt. of Taiwan to give him a copy of the Taipei Mayor's inquiry report on diplomatic plea, although the Taiwan Govt. was willing to respond to Indian request. The matter later was raised in Lok Sabha, when the then Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, denied if any such instruction was sent to Khosla. This report of the Mayor of Taipei is still available in the archives of the Taiwan Govt.

### Habibur Rahman's Story

Col. Habibur Rahman stuck to his story of Netaji's death although he could convince neither the British, nor the American investigating team, nor any of his INA colleagues. After interrogation of Habibur Rahman by the British team it observed: 'Habibur Rahman is unwilling to come out with truth'. Everybody took his version as that of a soldier's statement in defence of the escape-plan of his master.

Habibur Rahman showed a rectangular watch with a burnt band saying that Netaji had it in his wrist when he was engulfed in the burning flame after the aircrash. But it was known to every INA personnel that Netaji always used a round shaped wrist watch and not any rectangular one. When Bhulabhai Desai, the Chief of the INA Defence Council asked Habibur Rahman to open the Watch, it was found that the oil inside the watch remained intact without forming any clot, although Habibur Rahman claimed that it was almost consumed in flame at the time of aircrash. Shri Desai indicatively smiled and returned the watch to Rahman without any comment.

While describing all about the aircrash, Habibur Rahman used to say that when the plane crashed he was wearing an wollen jumper, whereas Netaji had a Khaki suit on his body. When he was asked how was it that not a single thread of his wollen jumper was burnt but Netaji's less inflammable Khaki suit was 'horribly' caught in fire ? Habibur fumbled to answer this searching question.

Again, he said that he made frantic effort with both his hands to put out the flame all around Netaji's body after the aircrash. But when he was asked how could it happen that the palms of his two hands bore no burnt marks whereas the dorsal of his two hands showed some hazy marks, which in all probability could be of acid-burn? He looked vacant and attempted no explanation.

In 1947 before he moved to Pakistan, Habibur Rahman lived with his father-in-law who was the 'Prime Minister' of the Princely State of Alwar. He confessed to Mr. Khemchand the ICS Secretary to the Alwar Prime Minister that Netaji's death-story was nothing but cooked-up.



In 1956 Habibur Rahman came to Delhi from Pakistan to appear before the Shah Nawaz Committee. However, a few days before his departure for Delhi the 'Civil and Military Gazette' of Lahore published a news that Habibur Rahman told this paper that Netaji didn't die in the aircrash. This report was published in 'East Pakistan' dailies also. But he declined to contradict it. Habibur Rahman refused to appear before Khosla Commission to avoid cross examination by the judicial commission. Before non-judicial Shah Nawaz Committee he submitted just a written statement.

In 1966 when a Japanese biographer of Netaji, Mr. Hayashida, met Habibur in Rawalpindi, he repeated nothing than the same story of Netaji's death but added : '**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the greatest revolutionary that the Indian Subcontinent produced in the present century.....Many in Bharat still believe that he is still alive and will turn up someday. How we wish he had come back alive ! The flame of freedom lit by him is still burning and will continue to inspire the freedom fighters all over the world for all times to come.**' Oh ! how Habibur Rahman failed to hold back the truthful impulse of his inner conscience in some sensitive moment !

### **Internal Documents, 'Missing or Destroyed'**

Nehru Govt. got in its possession all the secret reports of the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten after the 'Transfer of Power'. Panditji was also known to maintain a special file about Netaji. But Nehru Govt. placed only a few documents before the Shah Nawaz Committee and Indira Govt. also supplied almost the same package of files again for the scrutiny of the Khosla Commission. These documents included a few pages of Mountbatten's Diary, some parts of Figgis Report and a small part of the report of CSDIC. Some irrelevant papers were also sent to the Commission. However, inside the package of these official documents a very intriguing official note was found enlisting some 40 secret files about Netaji marked as 'Either Missing' or 'Papers Destroyed' ? Pandit Nehru's personal and other official files regarding the issue of Netaji were kept by Md. Yunus. 'Papers destroyed' were about 15. 'Notes destroyed' were about 12. 'Prime Minister's Secretariate File 'missing or destroyed' included - (i) Investigation into circumstances leading to the death of Subhas Chandra Bose, (ii) 'Indian National Army (INA) in the Far East', and (iii) 'INA Treasure'. These files were either deliberately destroyed or intentionally withheld. Mr. Khosla dared not to ask the Govt. why these valuable secret files were either 'destroyed or missing' and what were the contents of these files?

### **Netaji's Destination was Russia**

It has been established from all documents and evidences that Netaji's destination after fall of Japan was Russia. Four days before the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 a special messenger from the Imperial headquarter of Tokyo, Mr. Negishi, rushed to Seramban in Malay to handover a confidential message from the highest Japanese authority. It showed in what respect the Japanese held Netaji. This confidential message urged Netaji to Immediately move to Saigon to fly out of the S.E.Asia zone without any delay. However, instead of accompanying Mr. Negishi, Netaji rushed to Singapore, the Hd. Qrt. of Azad Hind Govt. and held an emergent meeting of his Cabinet to decide the future course of the Azad Hind Govt. and the INA in the event of Japanese surrender. Netaji proposed to surrender to the British Army at Singapore. But his Cabinet unanimously decided that Netaji should make every effort to cross into Soviet Russia, whereas the Cabinet Ministers and the INA would surrender to the British Army at Singapore. After arguing with his Cabinet Ministers, Netaji finally agreed to bow-down to honour the wishes of his Cabinet. On 14th August Netaji attended a cultural function of the Jhansi Regiment without disclosing what was going to happen next day.



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As Netaji was delaying to reach Saigon, on August 12, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan and Mr. Hachia, Jap Ambassador to the Azad Hind Govt. rushed to Singapore. On 13th August another messenger from Tokyo, Col. Sakai, reached Singapore to persuade Netaji to leave the area without any further delay. Netaji had several secret meetings with Col. Sakai and in one such meeting Col. Habibur Rahman was called in and directed by Netaji to hand over the charge of his office to Mj. Genl. M.Z.Kiani, who was given overall authority by Netaji to surrender to the British Army, separately from the Japanese, on behalf of the Azad Hind Govt. and its INA.

Netaji reached Bangkok on Aug 16, along with Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi, Col. Sakai, Col. Habibur Rahman, S.A. Ayer, Debnath Das, Pritam Singh, Mj. Hasan, Col. Gulgara Singh and others. At Bangkok, Netaji had several secret conclaves with Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada who were specially deputed by Field Marshall Terauchi to finalise Netaji's escape-plan. Again at Bangkok also Col. Habibur Rahman was exclusively called in by Netaji in one of such meetings. None else of the INA was asked to attend the secret conclaves. Next day on 17th August a plane took off at about 5 p.m. from Saigon carrying Netaji, Habibur Rahman, Genl. Shedei and few other Japanese Officers. The plane had an overnight hop at Tourane in North Vietnam.

What was the destination of Netaji ? Except Col. Habibur Rahman who made every effort to conceal all facts about the fateful movement of Netaji, on August 18, 1945, all other important Japanese witnesses like Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi and Col. Tada and all the Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. and the important INA Officers categorically told the Khosla Commission that Netaji's plan was to go to Russia via Dairen.

Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada of FM Terauchi's HQ of Saigon were entrusted by the supreme Japanese command to prepare and execute Netaji's escape plan to convey him safely to Russian Siberia. Genl. Isoda unreservedly told Khosla Commission: 'The purpose of Netaji's plan was to go to Soviet Union.... He was going to Russia via Saigon.... There was no plan to stay at Saigon. 'Genl. Isoda's Statement was much earlier corroborated by Col. Tada in a secret communication to S.A. Ayer when Pandit Nehru unannouncedly sent him to meet Col. Tada in 1951. In his 'confidential note' to Nehru, Ayer wrote: 'Col. Tada told me that it was arranged that Subhas Chandra Bose will fly in a plane in which Genl. Shedei was going. Genl. Shedei will look after Subhas Chandra Bose upto Dairen (in Manchuria) and thereafter he would fall back on his own resources to contact Russian. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allied power....'. After arrival of Col. Sakai from Tokyo it was found that Terauchi's plan coincided with the plan of the Tokyo Imperial Headquarters. Col. Tada further disclosed to Ayer that '.... The Japanese HQ had planned to make a false announcement of Netaji's disappearance.'

Col. Tada's disclosure showed that both the Imperial HQ and the HQ of Terauchi at Saigon planned to fly Netaji to Dairen with Genl. Shedei from where Gen. Shedei was to escort Netaji up to Siberia across the Manchurian border. To execute this plan five days were required and that was why although the plane was reported as have had crashed on August 18, the so-called death news of Netaji was broadcast on August 23.

Khosla Commission was told by all the Cabinet Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. that Netaji maintained a special liaison with Jakob Malik, the war-time Russian Ambassador at Tokyo.



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That Netaji reached Moscow has also been verified by several reports of the British intelligence sent to the Wavell Govt. in late 1945 and in early 1946. These informations, which the Govt. of Nehru didn't disclose in 1946 came before the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 alongwith the Govt. papers submitted before it. One of these reports says '.... There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. This information alleges that Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are those who were aware of this. It is probably that a letter arrived about the time Gandhiji made his public statement.'

In another intelligence report it was stated that 'Bose' was in Russia. Assuming the name of Ghilzai Malang (It is known that Netaji was a past-master in assuming false names). In the third intelligent report it was said '..... In Dec 1945 a report said that Russian Ambassador in Kabul informed that Bose was in Moscow. In a report received from Tehran stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia.....'.

The British intelligence pursued this reports for further probe and submitted them to the Govt. of Wavell. These reports were said to be, as communicated to Khosla Commission, 'either missing or destroyed'.

Shri Shyamlal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Secretary of the INA Defence Council, told Khosla Commission that he was asked by Pandit Nehru on Dec 26/27, 1945 in the residence of Mr. Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which read: '.... Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon alongwith Genl. Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory, the Jeep returned after about 3 hours ....' Pandit Nehru sent a copy of this letter to the U.K. Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, asking him how Russia, their War-time ally, could provide shelter to Bose. This letter to Mr. Attlee was also typed by Shyamlal Jain. It appears unthinkable that Panditji could write such a letter to Attlee. But neither the Govt. nor Mr. Khosla challenged the statement of Shyamlal Jain.

Most positive and authentic information came from the source of the British Govt. in their documents 'Transfer of Power - 1942- 47' published in 1975. It has already been mentioned earlier that the British Govt. had the information that Netaji reached Russia and but preferred to remain silent about this report.

Many other indirect hints came about Netaji's presence in Russia. On reaching India after serving in Moscow as India's first Ambassador, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, made a startling statement at Bombay on her coming back to India. But after reaching Delhi she shut her mouth completely. Khosla Commission asked her, sending a formal letter, if she knew that Netaji was in Russia. She declined to appear before the Commission sending a strange reply: 'I have not met Subhas Chandra Bose after 1940'. Mr. Khosla didn't dare to summon her for cross examination.

The second Ambassador to Moscow Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan confided his very close Calcutta friend Dr. Saroj Ray, an eminent philosopher of Calcutta University that he came to know that 'Subhas Bose is in captivity in Stalin's Russia.' This information was communicated to Shri Morarji Desai by the great historian Dr. R.C.Majumdar, an intimate friend of Dr. Saroj Roy.

### Netaji in Russia - Two Revealing Reports

However, besides this indirect information, a revealing report came from a Bharat Heavy Engineering Corpn. Engineer, Shri A.Sarkar, now residing at Calcutta, who was sent to Russia three times by the Corporation for training in manufacture of heavy machineries. Sarkar learnt



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Russian quite well. He came in contact with a German-Jew, B.A. Zerobin, who was Deputy Chief of a Machine Building Plant (Machinostroitel'nyy zavod) at Gorlovka near the city of Doonesk. Mr. Zerobin told Sarkar that while he was in a Siberian Re-orientation Camp after being captured in Berlin, he surprisingly met Bose in the Camp. It was in 1961. Zerobin claimed that he saw Bose earlier in Berlin during the days of War. According to Zerobin, one day Bose was brought to the Re-orientation Camp in a car accompanied by two Mongolian guards, one acting as his interpreter. Zerobin rushed to Bose exclaiming: 'Sir, I met you in Berlin?' Bose replied, 'Quite likely'. Bose asked Zerobin, 'What are you doing here?' Zerobin: 'I don't know what for'. Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir? Are you going back to India?' Bose replied: 'Expected to be soon'. Bose and Zerobin were talking in German. The Mongolian interpreter intervened and said, 'Not allowed'. Zerobin said that he saw Bose in the Re-orientation Camp only on two occasions.

Zerobin warned Sarkar that if he divulged anything about Bose in Russia it would cost lives of both, - of Zerobin and Sarkar too. Notwithstanding Zerobin's warning Sarkar tried to contact Indian Embassy at Moscow. But he was sternly warned by one of the Secretary to shut his mouth about the matter. Frightened Sarkar remained muted for years.

After Glasnost and Perestroika when liberal winds began to blow in Russia, a former Chairman of the Lok Sabha Privilege Committee (present writer) wrote a long letter to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, giving all available facts about the reports of Netaji's going to Russia after the fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy and Shri Gyani Jail Singh with their own comments. Shri S. Nijalingappa, the former oldest President of the Congress, also sent another letter to the Russian leader. But all these letters remained unacknowledged and unreplied.

Latest positive confirmation about Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946 came from a document found in the archives of the Princeton University of USA in 1990. It is the copy of the letter written on 22nd July 1946 by Khurshed Behn to the eminent American journalist Louis Fischer, who came in close contact with Mahatma Gandhi. Giving briefly the idea about the political situation in India in 1946 Khurshed Behn wrote to Fischer: 'At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also (if) Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India.' This letter was written to Louis Fischer as he had access to the USA President.

It was a hand written letter as it was very confidential. Khurshed Behn was a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and lived with him in his Wardha Ashram. It was obvious that Khurshed Behn really wrote the letter to Louis Fischer being dictated by Gandhiji.

Khurshed Behn never moved an inch without the hint from the Mahatma. This letter provided a definite affirmation why Gandhiji made repeated statements in 1946 telling the Indian people that he believed 'Netaji is alive and hiding some where.'

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru knew all these facts about Netaji's taking shelter in Russia. But he did nothing to contact Stalin or his successor Russian leaders to enquire about Netaji and arrange for his repatriation to his motherland. Rather after getting into power in Delhi Pandit Nehru was seen to adopt an attitude of stoic silence regarding anything about Netaji. Regrettably, no other Indian Govt. after Nehru also made any efforts to contact the Govt. of USSR to ascertain all facts published about Netaji's taking shelter in that country.



## Now an Unfulfilled National Duty for Shri Narasimha Rao

Mr. Clement Attlee who piloted the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons came to visit India as a private citizen in mid-fifty. He was asked at Calcutta Raj Bhavan by the then acting Governor of West Bengal, Justice Phani Bhusan Chakraborty : 'Mr. Attlee, why did you quit India so precipitously after winning the Great War ?'. Prompt was the reply from the former Prime Minister of Britain : 'Because of the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose.' Yes, our Sub-continent which is now called India, Pakistan and Bangladesh got independence in 1947 because of the irresistible thrust of the revolutionary legends of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his INA. After the last Great War when the Saga of the Azad Hind Revolution raised a volcanic upsurge of militant patriotism that shook the very foundation of British Raj in India every Indian leader, except Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahammad Ali Jinnah, was seen to vie with one another in showing their eloquent homages on Netaji. But after India attained freedom nothing was done to acknowledge our national gratitude to the greatest national hero of our independence. Nay, no effective move was made to find out what really happened to him.

After 10 years of persistent agitations Pandit Nehru formed Shah Nawaz Committee 'to enquire into 'death of Netaji'. The Committee produced a report which the Indian people refused to accept. Again in 1967 more than 350 Members of Parliament launched a fresh agitation for instituting a judicial inquiry into Netaji's disappearance. After more than 2 year's continuous agitation the Govt. of Indira Gandhi instituted 'A one-man Judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' But the whole inquiry was vitiated by the tendentious motivation of its Chairman, Justice Khosla for which he had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. On Sept 3, 1978 Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. As the issue of the inquiry about Netaji was reopened by the Govt., Shri Morarji Desai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' to finalise the matter of the Netaji-inquiry. But no move could be made as his Govt. fell in 1979.

Again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji was taken up by the successive Govts. of Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was because of the patriotic and moral intervention of the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman, Chandra Sekhar Govt. announced on March 1991; 'starting of a High Level Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose into the documents available with Govts. of UK, USA, USSR, Japan and others'. But this move also got bogged because of resignation of the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

All hopes now rests with the willingness and the initiative of the veteran Freedom Fighter, Shri Narasimha Rao. Will India's present Prime Minister fulfil the objective of the Investigative Inquiry about Netaji as has already been decided by his predecessor Govt. ? If he feels it as our patriotic task to fulfil our unfulfilled national duty to Netaji, then his Govt will have to make a sincere and serious move to execute this investigation in a proper manner.

Firstly, the Prime Minister of India would have to write to all the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for making available the reports of the inquiries already made by them long before about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose of India.



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Secondly, the Govt. should write to the Japanese Govt. to provide all documents connected with the reports of the aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei) allegedly involving Netaji.

Thirdly, which is most vital, the Prime Minister of India should approach the new Russian Govt. and its sister's States to let India know what KGB know about Netaji's taking shelter in the former USSR. Now a new wind of freedom and liberalism is blowing in Russia and if our Govt. in such radically changed milieu take up the issue in all earnestness with the present Russian Govt. there is no reason why the present Govt. of Russia will not come out with all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that were and are still locked in the KGB files Stalin's achieves and other quarters.

In 1946 the Govt. of Communist China also featured in various news relating to Netaji. The Govt. of India should also approach the Communist regime of China to find out if they have any facts with them about Subhas Chandra Bose.

Lastly, the Govt. of India should make a thorough search to find out from their own official files and archives what were those 'top secret files' which were reported as 'either missing or destroyed'. What were the contents of these files should be carefully inquired into and all efforts should be made to trace Pandit Nehru's special files about Netaji and the other files left behind by the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten at the time of Transfer of Power.

The INA treasure that have been kept in the Delhi National Museum, — all about its sources, who brought them, how they were collected, — all facts should be inquired into.

Efforts should also be made to contact the family of Col. Habibur Rahman, who died two years back, to ascertain if he left any document, diary or any note about Netaji.

About 50 years after the last Great War there is no reason to believe that the Allied Powers' past political prejudices against Subhas Chandra Bose will stand any more in the way of their cooperation with the proposed Investigative Inquiry. For Russia, it is the most opportune moment when a friendly move by the Govt. of India is likely to succeed to convince the Russian Govt. to give out all facts, reports, documents and information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking shelter in Russia that are in possession or were in possession of the former KGB and other Russian secret sources.

The Govt. of India should set up a high level expert committee, to draw out the parameter and modality of its functioning to scan, scrutinise and judge all the documents likely to be available from the sources of the foreign governments and from the internal sources of our Govt. If our Govt. make a determined and honest effort the proposed Investigative Inquiry will certainly succeed to finally let our countrymen know what really happened to our Netaji.

### **Unanswered still Remains the Questions !**

Netaji is no longer any political challenge to anybody. He is also not dead legally. The issue is still open before the Govt. There is no proof of his death in the alleged aircrash. There is no reports that he died elsewhere. There is no visual proof, as well, of his being alive. The longing question still remained unanswered. Then, what happened to our Netaji ?

Is he still languishing in the desolate cell of a Siberian Concentration Camp ? Has he been killed there by Stalin or did he die a gruelling death in a lonely cell ? Or, by the grace



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of the Maha Shakti he always worshipped, has the revolutionary pilgrim of India succeeded to come out of the Russian Concentration Camp ? Is he now living incognito as a 'Sanyasin' - a supreme consummation of his spiritual aspiration from the days of his early youth ?

We do not know yet what really happened to Netaji. But it is a sacred national duty that we have failed so long to know what really happened to the Maha Kshatriya of Modern India. Will Shri Narasimha Rao, a former Freedom Fighter, rise above all small political considerations to accept the national task of finding what really happened to the Netaji of the Indian people ? If Shri Rao fulfills this task his name will remain enshrined in the hearts of the Indian people. If Gandhiji survived a few years more he would have raised storm in India to know the truth about Netaji, who 'gambled away his life' for the emancipation of his motherland. Let us not remain ungrateful to the epic hero of Indian freedom !

## II

### An Appeal To Boris Yeltsin

Mr. Boris Yeltsin  
Hon'ble President  
Federation of Russia  
Moscow, Russia

Honourable Sir,

After the great non-violent democratic revolution in the former Soviet Union under your leadership, Indian people are watching the democratic developments in the Russian Federation and its sister States with deep interest. What has happened in the former USSR is a seismic event that has shaken the existing co-relations of the present politics of the modern world, opening a new vista of peace, amity and human rights before the whole humanity.

Indian relation with Russia had always been friendly, cordial and mutually trustworthy. Indian freedom movement received sustained support from Russia. Our greatest national revolutionary, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was twice elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, showed consistent interest in cultivating Russian friendship for the cause of Indian freedom.

After his historic escape from the British India in January 1941, he intended to reach Moscow via Kabul. But, because of the policy of Stalin at that time, Subhas Chandra Bose was compelled by the prevailing circumstances to divert his destination to Germany via Moscow to seek help of the "enemy's enemy" for ousting British Imperialism from India. He had to seek help of the Axis Power, though he was opposed to their ideology, for exploiting international enmity between Britain and Germany and also because of the fact that due to the Russo-German Pact, existing at that time, Germany was looked upon by him as an ally of Russia.

After the treacherous attack of Russia by Nazi Army in June 1941, the dream of Subhas Chandra Bose to achieve Indian independence with the collaborative help of Russia and Germany was shattered. Sitting at the very den of Hitler, Subhas Bose, the intrepid Indian Revolutionary, dared to write to Hitler's Foreign Minister Mr. Ribbentrop that "the Indian people



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will view 'German attack' of Russia as an 'imperialist aggression.' Though Subhas Chandra Bose formed as Indian Legion in Germany, he never uttered a word in support of Nazi aggression of Russia, nor did he allow the Indian Legion to be used in anyway against the interest of Russia.

Being frustrated in Germany, Subhas Chandra Bose undertook an unthinkable hazard of 90 days Submarine journey from Kiel to Singapore. He created a saga of Revolutionary War of Indian Liberation against British Imperialism, the fiery impact of which ultimately compelled the British power to quit its Indian Empire after the War.

While waging 'War of Independence' against British Imperialism with the help of Japan, Subhas Chandra Bose never uttered a single word, nor did he do anything adversely against Russia or China. Rather, he always tried to maintain an attitude of friendship towards these two countries. His joining hands with Germany and Japan was motivated solely for winning Indian national independence.

When it became clear after fall of Germany that collapse of Japan was a matter of days, Subhas Chandra Bose contacted Mr. Jakob Malik, the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo, for seeking asylum in Russia. After surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, Tokyo Radio made a dubious broadcast on 23rd August circulating a story that Subhas Chandra Bose, the supreme leader of the Provisional Govt. of Free India, died in an aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei). But the report of Bose's death was not confirmed officially either by Japan or the U.K. nor also by the USA. Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army and Adml. Mountbatten of the S.E. Asia Allied Command immediately ordered two separate inquiries to probe into the story of Subhas Chandra Bose's death. But their inquiries couldn't find any positive evidence to confirm Bose's death.

Subhas Chandra Bose made his flight from Saigon on Aug 17, 1945. His destination was Russia, via Dairen. According to the Mac Arthur's Inquiry Japan made a false broadcast on Aug 23, 1945 to camouflage Subhas Chandra Bose's escape into Russian Siberia via Dairen.

During the days of 1945-46 British Intelligence made many reports to the Viceroy of British India, that Subhas Chandra Bose under the cover of the story of his aircrash death had actually reached Russia. This report was corroborated by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul, and the Russian Consul General at Tehean in 1946. It was told by them that Bose was living in Russia with an assumed Mongolian name of 'Ghilzai Malang'.

The Govt. of India instituted two inquiries to verify if the report of Bose's aircrash death was true. But these two inquiries failed to confirm Bose's death. All the high officers of Subhas Chandra Bose's Revolutionary Army (INA) and the Ministers of his Provisional Govt. of Free India and all the high ranking Jap Generals and Jap diplomats, who appeared before the two Indian inquiries, categorically stated that Bose's plan after fall of Japan was to go to Russia.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador to Moscow told his personal friend, Dr. Saroj Das of the University of Calcutta that he got the information that Subhas Chandra Bose was held in captivity in Soviet Russia by Stalin.

In 1975 the British Govt. published secret documents concerning 'Transfer of Power' to India. In it a specially important note, after analysing the pros and cons of various measures



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how to punish Subhas Chandra Bose if he was arrested, recommended to the British Govt. in late 1945 that :

“...In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of Course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties.”

This note provides an authentic information that Bose took asylum in Russia after fall of Japan.

Another fact revealed is more startling. An Indian Engineer of Calcutta, Mr. A.Sarkar, who was deputed by the Govt. of India to have training in machine building plant in Russia, was three times in Russia and knew Russian well. Mr. Sarkar worked in the Machine Building Plant at Gorlovskia near the city of Doniesk. He came in contact of a German + Jew there, who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant - Machinostroitelinizevod. His name was B.A.Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany. He claimed that he met the Indian Revolutionary Subhas Chandra Bose several times in Berlin.

Zerobin after being captured in Berlin, was taken to Siberia in a train to an unknown place, from where he was flown to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. In that Camp one day he suddenly found Subhas Chandra Bose coming out of a Car, flanked by two Mongolian guards. Seeing Bose, Zerobin excitedly rushed towards him and said : ‘Sir, I have met you in Berlin’. Bose replied in his characteristic style : ‘Quite likely’. Bose then asked Zerobin : ‘What are you doing here?’ Replied Zerobin : ‘I don’t know what for.’ Zerobin again asked Bose: ‘What is your programme, Sir ? Are you going back to India’ ? Bose : ‘I expect it to be soon.’

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, (Bose knew German well) the Mongolian guards intervened : ‘Not allowed’.

Thereafter, Zerobin had no opportunity to meet Bose in the Siberian Re-orientation Camp.

Zerobin warned Mr. A.K.Sarkar that if he disclosed the report of his meeting with Subhas Chandra Bose in the Re-orientation Camp in Siberia, the lives of both Zerobin and Sarkar will be seriously endangered in Russia. After retiring from the Govt. job, Shri Sarkar took courage to disclose the report about Bose and that too many years later.

Prof. Samar Guha, a former member of the Indian Parliament and three-term Chairman of its Privilege Committee, — the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament, wrote a long letter to Mr. Gorbachev requesting him to disclose all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s taking asylum in Russia after fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Mr. Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Mr. N.Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. Gyani Zail Singh. A third letter was forwarded by the oldest President of Indian National Congress, Mr. S.Nijalingappa. Unfortunately, Mr. Gorbachev remained unresponsive.

A very important letter has been found out in 1991 in the archives of the US Princeton University, which confirmed the British report that Mahatma Gandhi knew that Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia in 1946. This letter was written by Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist Louis Fischer, who worked as go-between Gandhi



and the US President. This letter was written on 22nd July, 1946. In it was written by Khurshed Behn, inter alia :

“.... At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (of Subhas Bose), if Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji, nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country ....”

Dear President Yeltsin ! We hope that you know how the Indian people hold Subhas Chandra Bose in their highest esteem as the greatest revolutionary of their national liberation. It was the saga of heroic exploits of the War of Indian Independence waged by Bose against the British Power that created such a tremendous anti-British upsurge in India after the Great War that it ultimately compelled the Britishers to withdraw from their Indian Empire. Mahatma Gandhi is hailed in India as the 'Father of the Nation' and in the same way Subhas Chandra Bose is acclaimed as 'The Netaji', -- the supreme liberator of the Indian people.

It is not yet known what really happened to Subhas Chandra Bose in Stalin's Russia. Many Indian Communist and Nationalist Revolutionaries were killed by Stalin. How Stalin treated Subhas Chandra Bose, the whole episode remained unrevealed.

Dear Mr. Yeltsin ! You have earned international admiration as the Liberator of the Russia people and a new harbinger of the message of peace, freedom and democracy for the humanity of our age. We beseech you to let the Indian people know what really happened to their beloved leader, their National Liberator, Subhas Chandra Bose, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia after fall of Japan. Your Govt. is now disclosing all secret KGB files, Stalin's confidential archives and other hitherto unknown secret reports of Stalin's days. You have gracefully rehabilitated many eminent Russians and have given promise to the US people to find out if any US soldiers are left anywhere in the Russian territory.

India and Russia are two great friendly countries. The people of these two countries had never any conflict between them. If you reveal all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, the greatest hero of Indian liberation, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia, you will win the hearts of the millions of the people of our country. The Indian people are pinning for years to know what ultimately happened to their beloved leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Promethean Hero of their nation, after he took political asylum in Stalin's Russia.

We beseech you again President Yeltsin to let the Indian people know all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose after he sought political asylum in Stalin's Soviet Russia !

May God bless you, bless the Russian people ! May God be in your heart to impel you to reveal all truths about the most beloved leader of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose, since he reached Russia after fall of Japan.

With warmest greetings and regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

SAMAR GUHA





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No SA/83/95

July 27, 1995

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and has the honour to refer to correspondence resting with their Note Verbale No. 2/YuA of 8 January, 1992, regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Enclosed is a booklet which contends that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose may have come to the former Soviet Union in 1945. There has been further speculation in this context reportedly on the basis of archival materials. In view of this, it would be highly appreciated if all materials available on the subject could be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently.

The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation the assurances of its highest consideration.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation  
(South Asia Department)  
Moscow



**Record of discussions on 21 December 1946 between the Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan I. Bakulin and the Acting Minister of Education of Afghanistan, Najibullah Khan**

Extract recorded by Bakulin informing about Najibullah Khan's comments about his visit to India:

Muslim and Hindu leaders do little to eradicate differences and strife among the population of India because they themselves have acquired huge personal funds with British assistance and are quite closely connected with them in their private life.

Speaking of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Najibullah said: "I visited his place. His house strikes one by its luxury. This is a place which a king of a big State would not be ashamed of. Nehru's daughter attends receptions of all sorts, dances with British officers. One gets a very negative impression that Muslim and Hindu leaders only shout at meetings about the British being their enemies, while in their private life they are closely associated with them". "I wonder how it is possible", Najibullah said, "to dance and merrily spend time with one's enemy". "It is also probable", he went on, "that some of them are direct agents of the British".

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**Extracts from the memorandum dated 11 January 1947 "On the issue of establishing diplomatic relations with India" sent by V. Kozlov to V. Koslov to Y.A. Malik**

"Raising of the issue of opening a considerable number of our Missions in India may cause the Indians to make reciprocal demands which does not suit our interests. Therefore, we believe it expedient to limit ourselves to the above-mentioned Missions. For the time being the issue of our Missions' strength should not be raised, and if the Indians insist this should be determined in the process of further negotiations".

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Extract recorded by Bakulin informing about Najibullah Khan's comments about his visit to India:

Muslim and Hindu leaders do little to eradicate differences and strife among the population of India because they themselves have acquired huge personal funds with British assistance and are quite closely connected with them in their private life.

Speaking of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Najibullah said: "I visited his place. His house strikes one by its luxury. This is a place which a king of a big State would not be ashamed of. Nehru's daughter attends receptions of all sorts, dances with British officers. One gets a very negative impression that Muslim and Hindu leaders only shout at meetings about the British being their enemies, while in their private life they are closely associated with them". "I wonder how it is possible", Najibullah said, "to dance and merrily spend time with one's enemy". "It is also probable", he went on, "that some of them are direct agents of the British".



**Record of discussions on 16 August 1947 between K. Mikhailov, Head of the South East Asia Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and Ambassador of India to USSR, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit**

Extract from record prepared by Mr. Mikhalov:

Nehru, Pandit went on to note, leads the left wing of the National Congress. The rightists are led by Patel and Gandhi. In political issues Nehru and herself, Pandit, disagree with Gandhi. However, the latter has done a lot of good for the whole Nehru family and that is why he is a great friend of the Nehru family which accounts for the closeness between Nehru and Gandhi. The Congress has quite an influential wing of rightist elements associated with capitalists. However, these elements do not reflect popular viewpoints. Moreover, <sup>Patel</sup> ~~Patel~~ stated that "contradictions between Nehru and the rightists led by Patel would grow deeper and the future will show what happens".



**Extract from a survey dated 8 September 1946 of the political situation in India prepared by V.G. Sayadyants, Teheran**

In contrast to all parties is the organisation Forward Bloc, initially conceived by its founder Subhash Chandra Bose seven years ago not so much as a party, but rather, as a platform for uniting all progressive elements and groups for an active struggle against the invaders, for immediate independence of India, implying that internal political tasks would be tackled thereafter. After the beginning of the war the Forward Bloc went underground, and Subhash Bose himself escaped first to Germany and then to Japan, created in Malaya the Indian National Army and in coordination with the Japanese advanced on India under the slogan of "Jai Hind! For India's freedom! Enemies of Great Britain are India's friends". After Japan's defeat the British initiated in Delhi a trial of war criminals, involving three officers of the INA, which turned out to be an outright triumph of the INA officers and the Forward Bloc. Bose himself became a national hero of India.

The executive committee of the Forward Bloc, acting on a semi-legal basis, announced a Party Programme and launched massive efforts to organise its all-India network. In August the British Government of India granted the Forward Bloc legal status, and an official session of its Central Committee is scheduled for the near future in Delhi. In its manifesto of 10.6.1946 the Executive Committee called on all "progressive, radical uncompromising anti-imperialist elements of the country in general, and of the Congress in particular, to unite together under the combat banner of Netaji Subhash Bose and in an organised order lay the foundations for the Indian Revolution under the slogan of "All power to the Indian people". Further, the manifesto declares the Forward Bloc organisation to be a socialist party which recognises class struggle as the only means to reach its goal of creating an independent India where exploitation of man by man would be eradicated, where the entire power would belong to the workers and peasants, land-ownership with all remnants of feudalism would be wiped out and the entire industry would be nationalised. The Forward Bloc comes out for the full freedom of culture, language, religion, press, workers organisations, for the complete equality of women's rights and views construction of a classless society as its final goal.



A number of factors enable a presumption that the Forward Bloc already has many thousands of involved members and an even greater number of sympathisers. The new Government and the Central Committee of the Congress include active workers of the Forward Bloc and, first of all, Subhash Chandra Bose's own brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, is the Justice Minister. The defence of the INA officers at the British Court was headed by Pandit Nehru himself.

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MOS/POL/125/1/90

MOS/POL/303/2/93

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210  
SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE

**EMBASSY OF INDIA  
MOSCOW  
Information Wing**

**Subject : Documentation relating to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union**

(i) On 5 March 1990, "Hindustan Times" carried a report quoting Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, that certain secret papers on Netaji were available in the USSR. Replying on 9 April 1990 to a Lok Sabha PQ drawing attention to the HT article, an assurance was given that "efforts will be made to obtain either the original papers or their copies so that they could be studied".

(ii) On 21 May 1990, Embassy of India, Moscow, addressed a Note Verbale to the USSR MFA indicating that it would be grateful if the possibility could be explored of relevant materials (or copies of it) relating to Netaji being transferred to the Indian National Archives by the USSR Government. A Note No. 1250/IDU dated 17 August 1990 was received in reply from the Soviet Foreign Office conveying certain materials on Netaji available in the Soviet archives. Those materials, however, did not appear to shed any further light on Netaji's fate or his sojourn in the USSR.

(iii) On 16 September 1991, Embassy of India, Moscow, addressed a Note Verbale to the Soviet Foreign Ministry enclosing a collection of documents on Netaji received from Mr. Chitta Basu, MP. (Those documents contained suggestions quoting the then Soviet Ambassador in Kabul and the Soviet Vice Consul in Tehran to the effect that Netaji might have found his way to the Soviet Union after the alleged aeroplane crash in 1945). The Note Verbale sought "any material available in the archives of Soviet organisations, including security organisations, which could shed light on the fate of Netaji".

(iv) Replying to the Embassy's Note Verbale of 16 September 1991, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation vide its Note No. 2/YUA of 8 January 1992 stated that "as per data available in the central and republic archives, there was no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and subsequent years".



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(v) On 12 November 1992, FS received a letter from Shri Samar Guha, ex-MP regarding the disappearance of Netaji and enclosing certain materials on the subject. Replying to that letter on 15 December 1992, FS stated that "our own enquiries with the Russians, pursuant to your suggestions, indicate that they themselves accept that Netaji died in the plane crash in 1945". FS, however, added that "we will try and approach the Russian authorities again on the basis of the information provided". Accordingly, a letter dated 10 January 1993 addressed by M(Pol), E/I Moscow, to JS(EE) MEA mentions that "as instructed by Foreign Secretary, we are approaching the Russian Foreign Ministry once again to ascertain whether there is any further information obtainable from the Russian side".

A | Our files placed below do not provide any indication as to whether such a reference was made or not.

In autumn 1993, the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" carried three articles on Netaji which ostensibly draw partially upon KGB archival material. Two of these articles sought to imply that Netaji may have discreetly cooperated with the British. While we objected to the publication of these articles, their author (Mr. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of "Asia and Africa Today") maintained that his intention was certainly not to denigrate Netaji and that in fact the articles made Netaji go up in his esteem since they showed him as contributing to the defeat of Facism, thus enhancing Netaji's prestige in Russian eyes. The concluding article published in Issue 10/93 of "Asia and Africa Today" contains, inter-alia, the text of a letter kept in the KGB archives and addressed by Netaji on 20 November 1944 to the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. The article concludes with a "Certificate" dated 25 December 1945 from the KGB archives which is signed by a NKVD functionary and mentions that "after the Japanese capitulation in the first half of September 1945, TASS, quoting British sources informed from Tokyo that Subhash Chandra Bose, staying in Japan, had died".

Following several rounds of discussions between Counsellor (Information), E/I, Moscow, and Mr. Touradjev in end-August/ early September 1994, the journal "Asia and Africa Today" finally specifically undertook not to publish any more articles on Netaji.

*Ajai Malhotra*  
( Ajai Malhotra )  
Counsellor(Information)  
6.7.1995

Thanks, May check further on (A).

Ambassador

*clv 6/7*

*C (info)*

*Urgent*

*Pls spk.*

*Am 7/7*

*Att (Pol)*



Secret

Reference Ambassador's notings on pre-page desiring that the position regarding 'A' on pre-page be checked further. I have had possible related files checked and gone through all the Note Verbales issued by the Embassy during 1993. There is no indication that since 1 January 1993 a reference was actually made by this Mission to the Russian Foreign Ministry on the subject.

*Ajai Malhotra*  
 ( Ajai Malhotra )  
 Counsellor (Information)  
 20.7.1995

Ambassador

*fl shh* *Uch*

*C (Int)*

Discussed with Ambassador.  
 Draft placed below pls.

*Am*  
 26/7

Ambassador

has issued  
 letter *Am*  
 27/7





R.L. Narayan,  
Minister (Political)

No. Mos/Pol/125/1/1993

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 297-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

January 10, 1993

My dear

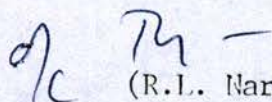
Please refer to your letter No. 13143/JS(EF)/92 dated 17 December, 1992, addressed to Ambassador, forwarding Shri Samar Guha's letter to Foreign Secretary on the circumstances of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's disappearance and Foreign Secretary's reply to him of 15 December, 1992.

2. As instructed by Foreign Secretary, we are approaching the Russian Foreign Ministry once again requesting them to ascertain whether there is any further information obtainable from the Russian side. However, my preliminary conversations with the officials concerned are not encouraging. This is not a priority area for them and as you are aware they have already gone through the exercise once before. In any case, as you would see from the enclosed Note Verbale of 8 January, 1992 and its translation, the Russian Foreign Ministry has stated, in response to an earlier enquiry from us, that they have no information that Netaji stayed in the USSR during or after 1945.

3. The alternative is to directly approach the Centre for Preservation of Contemporary Documents which contain those Soviet archives from the period 1951 to 1991 which are open. I have separately written to you about our discussions with the Director of the Centre on the more general question of our obtaining archives pertaining to Indo-Soviet relations. While they are generally receptive to the idea they are approaching it in a purely commercial terms and have quoted us a base price of 60,000-70,000 dollars for each set of 500 documents which is certainly on the high side.

4. You would recall that we had sent you the material which we had received earlier from the Russian Foreign Ministry vide my letters of even number dated 21 December, 1990 and 8th May, 1991. I am not sure if this material, much of which is published and in the public domain, has been made available to Shri Samar Guha. We have gone through the material which Shri Samar Guha had sent to FS and this does not indicate that he has seen the material which the Russians have made available to us. It occurs to me that it would be useful to make this, or at least the public part of the Russian archival documents, available to him for his research.

Yours sincerely,

  
(R.L. Narayan)

Shri Nalin Surie,  
Joint Secretary (EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
NEW DELHI



МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

206

103/1/92  
No. 2 /ЮА

Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации свидетельствует свое уважение Посольству Республики Индии и, ссылаясь на ноту Посольства от 16 сентября 1991 года, имеет честь сообщить, что по данным центральных и республиканских архивов каких-либо сведений о пребывании в Советском Союзе в 1945 и последующие годы бывшего президента Индийского национального конгресса Нетаджи Субхаш Чандра Боса не имеется.

Министерство пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Посольству уверения в своем высоком уважении.



"8" января 1992 года

for filing  
N60

ПОСОЛЬСТВУ РЕСПУБЛИКИ  
ИНДИИ  
г. Москва

Pl. translate & put up  
with earlier TPs on  
the subject - T6 - 9/1

TS/9/1-3 Translation enclosed.  
9/01

Photocopied  
from pps in  
India-Russia  
file 1992 vol I.  
Pl put on file  
re: Netaji S.C. Bose.  
R  
6/1

N60



Ministry of External Affairs  
Russian Federation

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No. 2/YUA

Ministry of External Affairs of Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of Republic of India, and with reference to the Note from the Embassy dt. 16 Sept. 1991, has the honour to inform that as per the data available in the Central and Republican Archives, there isn't any information about the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in Soviet Union in 1945 and after that.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Embassy of  
Republic of India  
moscow.

moscow  
8 Jan. 1992





Nalin Surie  
Joint Secretary (EE)

No. 18143 /JS(EE)/92

~~SECRET~~

1433/8/Amb/92  
21/12

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI

2/12/93  
12/1  
204

December 17, 1992

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Dear Shri Sen,

As instructed by Foreign Secretary, I am writing to you in connection with the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Foreign Secretary has recently received a letter dated 12 November 92 from Shri Samar Guha, former Member of Parliament, in the matter. A copy of his letter along with the material he had sent to Foreign Secretary is enclosed as also a copy of Foreign Secretary's reply of 15 December 1992.

2. Foreign Secretary has instructed that the Mission in Moscow be asked to ascertain whether we can obtain any more information from the Russian side in the context of the material sent by Shri Guha.

With warm regards  
Yours sincerely,

Nalin Surie  
(Nalin Surie)

Shri R. Sen  
Ambassador of India  
MOSCOW

- Encl: 1. Copy of Shri Guha's letter  
2. Shri Samar Guha's book on Netaji  
3. Pamphlet entitled "Country must know what happened to Netaji"  
4. Clipping from Hindustan Times of 18.10.92  
5. Clipping from Newstime of 3.10.92  
6. Reply of FS dt. 15.12.92 to Sh. Samar Guha

Pl examine (est.  
in relation to archival  
materials which may be  
available now)

delu refn  
MCP

We have some  
previous PPS.  
PC - wrote &  
discuss  
TM - 22/12  
SS/P&J





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विदेश सचिव  
विदेश मन्त्रालय, नई दिल्ली-110011  
FOREIGN SECRETARY  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

No. 17420/FS/92

15th December 1992

Dear Prof. Guha,

Kindly refer to your letter of the 12th of November 1992 regarding the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, whose heroic example provides such an inspiration to all of us.

2. I have gone through the interesting material that you had sent with your letter. The issue of Netaji's death and the bringing of his ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. As you know, there have been a number of enquiries by private individuals and groups into this matter over the last three decades, apart from the two Commissions. While opinions remain divided, many of the persons closely involved with Netaji, including some of his relatives, have been visiting the shrine in Japan thought to contain Netaji's ashes. Our own enquiries with the Russians pursuant to your suggestions indicate that they themselves accept that Netaji died in the plane crash in August 1945. While further research could perhaps be undertaken, I am not at all confident that this would take us very much further in clarifying the circumstances of events that took place half a century ago. However, we will try and approach the Russian authorities again on the basis of the information provided by you.

With regards,

Yours sincerely

[J.N. Dixit]

8/12/92 CAP

Prof. Samar Guha  
Ex-Member of Parliament [Lok Sabha]  
B/2, Central Park  
Calcutta 700 032.



56153/92-97  
24/11

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
EX-MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



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8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

12 November 1992

Dear Shri Dixit,

I received the reply of my 21st August 1992 letter on Sept 11, 1992 in which you informed me that "...I am having your letter examined alongwith the suggestions which you have made."

I don't know amidst your other pressing works whether you could do anything in this regard. I hope you will treat the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as a very sacred national task which remained unfulfilled for more than four decades since the country attained freedom. I hope you will consider it as a shameful slur for the nation.

'Investigative Inquiry' ~~which~~ was first suggested by Shri Morarji Desai after rejecting the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission on 3rd Sept 1978 by making a statement on the floor of the Lok Sabha. He made it clear to me that by Investigative Inquiry he didn't mean any further public inquiry like Khosla Commission. It meant scrutiny and expert examination of the unrevealed and unpublished secret documents lying with the Govt. of Russia and the Govts. of the UK, the USA and Taiwan about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. It also means searching of the archives of Japan to find out the official papers concerning the report of alleged death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in an aircrash at Taihoku (Tapie) in former Formosa, which was announced unofficially by the Tokyo Radio. It further means searching of secret files of our Govt. marked 'Either destroyed or Mission', particularly the



special file of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru about the issue of Netaji's disappearance which he maintained. Most probably Panditji's special file was looked after by Md. Yunus.

What the present Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao needs to do are the following :

1. Write a letter to the Prime Minister of UK for handing over<sup>16</sup> the Govt. of India, - i) The Mountbatten's Inquiry reports and its findings about the alleged death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on 18th Aug 1945; ii) Full report of inquiry made by the then Viceray Lord Wavell for the same purpose, iii) all secret papers about the report of the Home Secretary of Lord Wavell sent to Mr. Attlee in 1945 regarding 'treatment of Subhas Chandra Bose' which has been published in the Volume VI of 'Transfer of Power - 1942-47' and any other secret reports about Netaji in the archives of the British Govt. which would be published, according to their announcement, 100 years after.

2. Write to the President of the USA to hand over the report and the findings of Genl. Mac Arthur's Inquiry report about the alleged death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in an aircrash at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945 and also handover any other report in possession of the USA Govt. about disappearance of Netaji.

3. Write to the Govt. of Taiwan for giving a copy of the report of the inquiry made by the Mayor of Taipei in late 1945 to verify the report of alleged aircrash at Taipei airport on Aug 18, 1945 involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This inquiry was done to ascertain the report of Jose's alleged death as Genl. Chiang-Kai Shek was a personal friend



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of Subhas Chandra Bose in pre-war days.

4. The Govt. of Japan should be approached to allow Indian expert officers to go through the archives to find out all reports in it about all facts <sup>regarding</sup> ~~about~~ the announcement made by Tokyo Radio <sup>related to alleged</sup> ~~regarding~~ the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in an aircrash at Taihoku in Formosa on Aug 18, 1945 and other reports about Netaji during the days of Japanese surrender.

I believe if a special cell is set-up by the Ministry of External Affairs to deal <sup>with</sup> ~~to~~ all matters concerning the proposed Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and to scrutinise all available international reports, the mystery about the destiny of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose can be finally resolved. Shah Nawaz Committee or Khosla Commission did't try to investigate these international documents.

I hope that the decision taken by the Minister of External Affairs of the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar should be worked-out by the present Govt. and I will request you to have a talk with the Prime Minister, who is also in charge of the Ministry of External Affairs, about the whole matter of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji.

Prime Minister appears to be too busy with other matters although he has been requested by Shri L.K.Advani, Shri Chandra Sekhar, Shri Jyoti Basu, Shri S.Nijilingappa and our former President, Shri R.Venkatraman and other distinguished personalities to hold an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to finalize the issue of the mystery about Netaji.



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I am sending to you :

1. A documentary book of mine on the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Morarjibhai got it examined by the Law Ministry which approved the vital issues raised in it as valid.

2. A booklet recently published by me.

3. Two articles of mine on the issue of Netaji's disappearance published in 'News Time' of Hyderabad on October 3 and in 'Hindustan Times of Delhi' on October 18, 1992.

I know it will be very difficult for you to find time to go through the whole book but please, go through the 1st chapter - 'Dead without Death' and the 5th chapter 'Japanese Evidence\* Contradiction Galore' and if possible the 4th chapter, 'A Different Story from Taiwan' and 10th chapter 'Plunge into Unknown Again'.

Certainly reading of my booklet and the two articles will not require much time by you.

Whether an Investigative Inquiry will be held or not - depends much on your in-depth examination of the issue and your initiative to take up the matter with the Prime Minister.

Hope you will do your best to fulfil our sacred duty to the Epic Hero of our nation who, to quote the Mahatma, 'gambled away his life for the emancipation of our motherland.'

May God bless you to patriotically feel for the issue.

With good wishes,

Shri J.N.Dixit  
Foreign Secretary  
Minister of Ext. Affairs  
ND 110011

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )



## Viewpoint

# What really happened to Netaji?

Any positive effort is yet to be made to unravel the enigma shrouding Netaji's death, writes SAMAR GUHA

**F**UTURE Indians will condemn us for our heartless ingratitude to the Promethean hero of our national liberation, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. No Government of free India made any determined effort to find out what really happened to him. Did he really die in an air crash on August 18, 1945, as dubiously reported by Tokyo Radio? If not, what happened to him? Had he gone underground in the Soviet Union? Did he meet an inscrutable death under any crueling circumstances in Stalin's Russia? Or, is he still alive by any miracle turning to be a spiritual recluse in some Himalayan abode?

Yes, on Aug. 23, 1945, quoting a private news agency called 'Domei', Tokyo Radio announced that Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, died in an air crash at Taihoku (Taipei) on August 18, 1945. This news was not confirmed by the Government of Japan or by its Military Headquarters, either a Tokyo or Saigon. Bose took a military plane from Saigon on Aug. 17, 1945 planning to reach Dairen with Gen. Shidei, the newly appointed Jap-Commander for the Manchurian Army, to meet the sudden Russian thrust in the East. Later, S. A. Ayer, a Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Government, made a strange disclosure that the text of the Tokyo broadcast was prepared not by Domei Agency but by him on request from the Jap-Military Authority at Tokyo.

Bose's death report was not confirmed by Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy of India, nor by Adml. Mountbatten's Headquarters at Colombo. Gen. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army, as well, remained silent over the Tokyo broadcast about Bose's death. According to Wavell's notings in his 'Viceroy's Journal', he 'suspected the news very much'. From the Indian side, Mahatma Gandhi wired Bose family 'Not to perform sraddh ceremony, but to hold mild prayer.' The Mahatma continued to tell his countrymen in 1946, '...I believe Subhas is alive. He is hiding somewhere... Why Gandhiji

said so was factually revealed many years later.

Immediately after hearing Tokyo Radio broadcast, the Indian Viceroy, Lord Wavell, Adml. Mountbatten, then Chief of the S.E. Asian Allied Command and Gen. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army instituted three separate inquiries to confirmatively ascertain, if Bose really died in the alleged Taihoku air crash. Soon after occupation of Formosa (renamed Taiwan) by Chiang-Kai-Sek, the Mayor of Taipei (Taihoku) conducted an inquiry to verify if any Jap-plane crashed in Taipei airfield on Aug. 18, 1945, and whether Subhas Chandra Bose was in it.

None of the findings of these inquiries has ever been published. Neither any Government of free India nor Shah Nawaz Committee or Khosla Commission of Inquiry made any direct or indirect effort to find out the reports of these four inquiries and their findings from the concerned Governments of UK, USA or Formosa.

The Government of India unofficially leaked out some cryptic news in late 1945 that Subhas Bose died in the reported air crash in Formosa. But what they really believed was officially communicated in a 'Top Secret Despatch' to the Attlee Government in London by the Home Member of the Wavell Government, Sir R. F. Mudie. In this quite lengthy despatch, after analysing various alternatives about 'treatment of Bose' after his arrest, Mr Mudie advised the UK Government '...Leave him (Bose) where he is and don't ask for his surrender...' This means, according to information received by the Government of India, Bose had gone underground somewhere. What was then the foreign country that gave him asylum?

**A**LL facts came out 30 years after, when the British document, 'The Transfer of Power — 1942-47' was published in 1975 in London. In the Volume VI of this British docu-



HAD NETAJI GONE UNDERGROUND IN RUSSIA?

ment, it has been recorded as the final advice of the Viceroy of India to the Government of Attlee that:

*'In many ways the easiest course will be to leave him (Bose) where he is and don't ask for his release. He might of course in certain circumstances, be welcomed by the Russian. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties...'*

It was the time of Emergency in India. After getting such startling hints from that British documents about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape into Russia, the Government of India didn't feel it as any national duty to ascertain from the Soviet Union, with which India maintained best of the relations, whether Russia gave asylum to Subhas Chandra Bose after surrender of Japan?

In 1956 many secret intelli-

gence reports received from the files of the Government of Wavell of the British days were placed by the Nehru Government before the Shah Nawaz Committee. They showed that the Russian Ambassador in Kabul and Mr. Maradoff, the Russian Vice Consul General at Teheran publicly said in 1946 that: '...Bose is in Moscow...' This intelligence source also informed the Viceroy of India that Bose was living in Russia with an assumed Mongolian name of 'Ghilzai Malang'. In another intelligence report, Wavell was informed that 'Nehru received a letter from Bose, requesting him for his repatriation' to India.

**P**ANDIT Nehru after coming to power in 1947 got all these secret reports from the Government of Wavell. But he didn't move in any way to con-

tact Russians to ascertain the factuality about these reports from Stalin. However, in 1956, he reluctantly rushed to set up 'Shah Nawaz Inquiry Committee' to forestall the initiative taken by the prominent citizens of Calcutta, to form a non-official 'inquiry committee' with Dr. Radha Binod Pal, a distinguished 'Judge of the Tokyo Trial', as its chairman. But no sooner Shah Nawaz Committee started its works, the process of the whole inquiry was abjectly scuttled by Panditji by making an 'im-promptu statement' in Lok Sabha that, 'Netaji's death is a settled fact beyond doubt.'

However, a few months before his death, Panditji's mind appeared to change and he admitted in a letter to an elder brother of Netaji, late Suresh Chandra Bose, that 'I have no direct and precise proof of

Netaji's death...' Again, about a month before he breathed his last, the ailing Prime Minister wrote to Shri Amiya Bose, a nephew of Netaji that, '...Something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death...'

But that 'something' has never been done seriously by any Government of India. After about 350 Members of the Parliament made a representation to the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1968, the indecisive findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee were discarded and a one-man judicial commission of inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was instituted in 1970. But this one-man Commission of Justice Khosla made such a chimera of the inquiry and adopted so many unethical steps in course of his inquiry that he had to

unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court, and then again before the Speaker of Lok Sabha. Morarji Desai Government refused to accept 'conclusion' of Khosla Commission by making a statement on the floor of Lok Sabha on 3rd Sept. 1978 as it was 'not decisive', because of the findings of 'important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses' and 'some further contemporary official documentary records became available'.

For finalising the poignantly pending issue of disappearance of Netaji, Morarji Desai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' about the matter. But before any initiative could be taken for such a move, Janata Government was out of power.

Because of moral support lent by the last President of India, Shri R. Venkaraman, the Government of Shri V. P. Singh initiated the move to start an investigative inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. However, finally, the Government of Shri Chandra Sekhar took the decision to hold a 'high level investigative inquiry into the secret documents likely to be available with the Governments of UK, USA, Japan, Russia and other concerned countries'. But before any practical steps about the parameter and modality of the proposed high level investigative inquiry could be taken, the Government of Shri Chandra Sekhar resigned.

Unfortunately, the present Government of Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao has not uptill now shown any awareness about the necessity to work-out the decision of his 'predecessor Governments' regarding the investigative inquiry about Netaji.

What will be the objective of such investigative inquiry? Such an inquiry should make simultaneous move to carefully ascertain, if Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose really died in the alleged air crash at Taihoku on Aug. 18, 1945 and, if not, all efforts should be made to con-

tact the present President of Russia, Mr Boris Yeltsin, at the highest level, to request him to furnish all reports and facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, who, according to various authentic reports took asylum in Russia after the fall of Japan.

Whether Bose died in the air crash as announced by Tokyo Radio can be definitely verified from the reports, of the inquiries made about such alleged air crash by the Government of Wavell, Adml. Mountbatten, Gen. Mac Arthur and the Mayor of Taipei. For further verification, war times archives of Japan and unpublished documents about Bose preserved in the archives of the UK and some secret papers concerning Netaji still lying with our Government should also be meticulously scrutinized to come to definite conclusion, whether Netaji died in the alleged air crash at Taihoku on Aug. 18, 1945.

Every one of the high-ranking Japanese and INA witnesses, except, Col. Habibur Rahman who accompanied his leader, Netaji, on a 'special assignment', unanimously told both the Indian inquiries that after the surrender of Japan Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's destination was Soviet Russia. The USA and UK war authorities and the then Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, confirmed intelligence reports that Bose made a flight on 17 Aug., 1945 from Saigon towards Dairen in Manchuria, and from there he crossed into Soviet-Siberia.

Latest startling conformation came from a letter written by Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to Louis Fischer on July 22, 1946, found in the archives of the US Princeton University in 1990. In this letter, giving a resume of the existing political situation in India during the early part of 1946, Khurshed Behn warned Fischer that,

*'...At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the INA (of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country...'*

It was indeed a defacto letter of Gandhiji to Louis Fischer which showed that Mahatmaji was certain about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia in July 1946.



# Russia can solve Netaji mystery

Samar Guha

What really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose? It still remains a mystery. Regrettably, since 1947, powers that be in Delhi, had turned indifferent to Netaji. Of the Opposition or of any party, no political leader feels it a national duty to ask the govt. to make an effort to unravel this mystery. If Mahatma Gandhi had lived a few years more, he would have raised a storm all over the country to compel Delhi to make every effort to find what exactly happened to 'Subhas'. India owes much to Bose to ignore him so ungratefully.

How soon the political leaders have forgotten how the legendary image of Netaji and the saga of his Azad Hind revolution magically changed the political scene of India after the end of the last great war. By then, the momentum of the Quit India movement got into its lowest ebb. The whole of India and the Congress leadership were suffering from an acute sense of defeatism and frustration. After the allied victory, hope of immediate freedom turned to be a distant dream. It was at such a critical time of India's freedom movement, that Subhas Bose emerged on the national scene as the Netaji of the war of Indian liberation. In no time the saga of the INA and the legends of the heroic exploits of Netaji electrified the whole country.

## Nehru's indifference

It was believed by everybody that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would accept it as a sacred task to set up an enquiry to find out what really happened to Netaji Bose. He did nothing. On the contrary, he adopted an attitude of stoic indifference to everything about Netaji. He turned down all public demands for Netaji-probe. For ten years after the dubious report of Netaji's alleged aircrash death he did nothing. But in 1956 Panditji suddenly formed Shah Nawaz committee "to inquire into Bose's death". This was done to foil a move by the prominent citizens of Calcutta to set up a non-official inquiry committee headed by Dr Radha Binode Pal. Dr Pal was the Indian jurist in the Interna-

**What is required for availing these secret international documents is a highest level initiative from the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister should pursue all possible diplomatic**

tional court at Hague and he earned popularity among the Japanese for his dissenting report in Tokyo war criminal trial. Japan would not have hesitated to give out their secret about Netaji to such a man, who stood by the national honour of Japan.

Even the Shah Nawaz committee's inquiry was scuttled by Pandit Nehru before it started by making an impromptu statement in Lok Sabha that: "I have no doubt that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death is a settled fact beyond doubt". But the conscience of Panditji appeared to prick him when he felt that his end was nearing. Three months before his death, he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji that "I have no direct and precise proof of Netaji's death". Again just a month before he breathed his last he told Amiyannath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, "I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death". Alas! that 'something' still, for last 30 years, remained undone.

Tokyo radio unofficially announced on Aug 23, 1945 that Subhas Chandra Bose, head of the provisional govt of free India died in an aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei) airfield on Aug 18, 1945. The govt. of Japan or its military headquarters didn't confirm this report. The other three concerned governments of India, UK and the USA—also remained silent to lend support to Tokyo report. Gandhiji didn't give out why he was insisting that 'Subhas is alive'. However, many revealing facts came to light eight years after his assassination, when the govt. of India placed some important records from secret Wavell files before the Shah Nawaz committee. British intelligence informed

Wavell that according to their reports, Subhas Chandra Bose sought asylum in Stalin's Russia under the cover of the story of his aircrash death. They also reported that Pandit Nehru got a letter from Bose asking him to arrange for his repatriation to India. It was further reported that, the Russian ambassador in Afghanistan and its vice consul general at Tehran publicly said in early 1946 that: "Bose is in Moscow". The same report added that Bose was living there with an assumed Mongolian name of 'Ghiljai Malang'.

More revealing information about Netaji's going to Russia was published by the British govt. in its documents on 'Transfer of power 1942-1947, Volume VI', 31 years after the report of the plane crash involving Netaji. Home secretary of the Wavell govt. Sir R F Mudie, advised the govt. of Attlee in 1945: "In many ways, the easiest course will be to leave him where he is, and not ask for his release. He might, of course, in certain circumstances, be welcomed by the Russians. This would raise immediate political difficulty".

In 1970, while discarding the findings of the Shah Nawaz committee, the govt of Indira Gandhi instituted a 'one-man judicial inquiry committee about the disappearance of Netaji'. This was done after about 350 members of parliament made a representation to Indira Gandhi. Justice Khosla, the chairman of the commission, unfortunately made many vulgar attempts in his report to denigrate the revolutionary character of Netaji. He also indulged in many unethical measures before his report was placed in the parliament. For committing such serious aberrations Khosla had to unconditionally apologise once before the Calcutta high court

**measures—first, after writing to the govts of the UK, the USA, Taiwan and the Russian Federation, and then, pursuing the matter in all possible ways.**

and then before the speaker of the Lok Sabha, thus negating the very moral and judicial basis of his findings.

Morarji Desai rejected the findings of both the Shah Nawaz committee and the Khosla commission by making a statement in the Lok Sabha on 3rd Sept 1978. He then suggested a fresh inquiry instead of any further public probe after so many years. But his govt fell before he could take any initiative in this regard.

Morally and according to parliamentary tradition, now it devolves on the govt of Narasimha Rao to take up the issue of the disappearance of Netaji. But in spite of former President R Venkataraman, leader of the Opposition, L K Advani and Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister and other important personalities requesting the present Prime Minister for holding an inquiry about disappearance of Netaji, there is yet no response from the govt. Perhaps, by inadvertently bestowing posthumous award of Bharat Ratna on Netaji Bose the govt of Narasimha Rao is facing some kind of a dilemma to take decision about the matter.

What is expected of such an investigative inquiry? It would search out and scrutinise all international and national documents, about Netaji—all known but yet unrevealed. It is wellknown that immediately after the report of the aircrash on 18th August 1945, Adm Mountbatten, the Chief of the S.E. Asia allied army, Gen MacArthur of the US Pacific army, and Lord Wavell, the then viceroy of India conducted three separate inquiries. After occupation of Formosa, a month after Japanese surrender, the mayor of Taipei (Taihoku) conducted another inquiry to verify if the report of air-

crash in the Taipei airfield on Aug 18, 1945, was correct. Findings of all these reports were never published, nor the govt of free India tried to avail these reports from the concerned govts. India never tried to get an access into the Japanese secret files, particularly of the months of August, 1945. Many of the internal documents in possession of our govt have also not been disclosed or scrutinised. First objective of the investigative inquiry should be to find out all these unrevealed and unpublished inquiry reports.

## Russian documents

Second, but simultaneous objective of this inquiry should be to secure all facts, reports, information and documents from the source of the Russian govt. It was believed, according to innumerable reports received from the intelligence sources and the high-ranking Japanese and INA witnesses, who appeared before the Shah Nawaz committee and the Khosla commission that Netaji's destination was Russia. Now KGB files, Stalin's personal archives and other secret documents of the regime of the Soviet Union are being revealed. It is now an opportune moment to avail secret reports about Subhas Chandra Bose from Russia.

What is required for availing these secret international documents is a highest level initiative from the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister should pursue all possible diplomatic measures—first, after writing to the govts of the UK, the USA, Taiwan and the Russian Federation, and then, pursuing the matter in the possible ways.

Netaji is no longer any challenge to any political leader or party. Gone are the days of political prejudices against him. The Indian people would expect that the present Prime Minister, who belongs to the heritage of our freedom struggle, should rise above all considerations of parochial politics to make a decisive move to dig out the destiny of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

(The author is a former member of parliament)



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# COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

—Samar Guha





## COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

What really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ? Did he really meet his end in an air crash at Taihoku in Formosa, on August 18, 1945 ? The news of his alleged accident was broadcast not in the form of any official communique either by the civil or the military authority of Japan. Japan was not yet occupied by the US Army, - its civil and military authority remained in tact. It was the news of the Domei Agency which was broadcast by the Tokyo Radio. In its first broadcast, 5 days after the alleged air crash, it was said that the dead body of Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, was flown to Tokyo. But subsequently in another broadcast it was reported that his body was cremated in Formosa.

Palpably, the broadcast appeared as nothing but a cooked-up story as it was not substantiated by any positive testimonials or documents. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India at that time, believed this news broadcast as true. Mahatma Gandhi along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya wired Bose family at Calcutta, 'Not to perform sraddh ceremony, but to hold mild prayer.' Lord Wavell recorded his reaction in his 'Diary', 'I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much. It was just what should be given out if he wanted to go underground.' No Government, either of Japan or Wavell nor of the U.K. or the USA at that time or anytime thereafter officially confirmed the report of death of Subhas Chandra Bose.

### Gandhiji believed - 'Subhas is Alive'

Gandhiji went on telling the Indian people that he didn't believe Netaji's death news. On 30 Dec 1945 he told us, the Bengal Detenues, most of whom were the colleagues and associates of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in Dum Dum Jail of Calcutta : 'If someone shows me ashes even then I will not believe that Subhas is not alive. He is alive, - hiding somewhere'. He spoke in Hindi and remained with us for over an hour. Next day, on January 2nd, 1946, he told the press at Contai of Bengal : 'I believe Netaji is alive. He is hiding somewhere.' Gandhiji repeated his belief many times afterwards. After meeting Col. Habibur Rahman in the Red Fort Cell, who claimed to be the lone Indian who travelled with Netaji in the same plane that allegedly crashed, Gandhiji said 'Habib ! whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe Netaji is alive.' Later Gandhi told pressmen : 'Habibur Rahman made a soldier's statement to me.'

Why Gandhiji was so insistent to disbelieve the Japanese report of Netaji's air crash death ? Was it because of his 'inner voice' ? Many revealing facts came to be known 10 years later which positively indicated why Gandhiji said so. In 1991 an American document found in the archives of the Princeton University positively revealed why Gandhiji believed that 'Subhas is hiding somewhere'.



## Reaction of the British Government

What was the further reaction of Lord Wavell, India's Viceroy in 1945-46 ? A month after the record of his first reaction he noted again in his 'Diary' : 'According to the Japanese of Singapore, Subhas Chandra Bose is definitely dead, but I shall be skeptical till further confirmation.'

After hearing the Japanese broadcast on August 23, 1945, Lord Wavell immediately sent a mixed investigating team of the British and Indian experts to 'arrest Bose - dead or alive' and make a thorough probe into the whole affairs behind the Japanese story of Bose's death.

What was the findings of this Wavell team was not fully reported. But the British Govt. of India cryptically leaked out to the press that Bose died in the reported air crash. However, what was the exact view of the Wavell Govt. about Subhas Chandra Bose, was secretly despatched to the Attlee Govt. in UK after 67 days of the reported air crash by its Home Secretary, Mr. R.F. Mudie. It was marked 'Top Secret' and this report was published 30 years after in 'Volume VI' of the British document 'Transfer of Power, 1942-47'. In his lengthy report on Bose Mr. Mudie's confidential despatch noted inter-alia as regard the 'treatment of Bose' these were the following possibilities :

- a) Bringing back to India and try him either for waging War or under the Enemy Agent Ordinance ;
- b) Have him tried by a Court in Burma or Malay for waging War against the King in that country ;
- c) Have him tried by a Military Court outside India ;
- d) Intern him in India ;
- e) Intern him in some other British possessions, e.g., Seychelles islands;
- f) Leave him where he is and not ask for the surrender.'

After analyzing all the eventualities about these alternatives the report concluded 'in many ways the easiest course will be to live him where he is and not ask for his release. Of course, he might in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulty.'

Neither the Wavell Govt. of India nor the Attlee Govt. of U.K., after coming to the above conclusion, made any official confirmation about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose, though he was marked as the enemy number one of their Indian Empire. They deliberately kept silent about the report of Subhas Bose's presence in Russia.

## Pandit Nehru's Preverification

Everybody in India in 1945-46 disbelieved the Tokyo story of Netaji's death. Moulana Azad, the then President of the Congress declined to make any obituary reference in memory of Bose in the first AICC Session held at Bombay on Sept. 23, 1945 after the Quit India Movement, saying, 'The circumstances in which the news of the death of Bose has reached us and the sources responsible for announcement don't make certain that Bose is in fact dead.'

An American journalist of Chicago Tribune, Alfred Wag, told Pandit Nehru on August



29, 1945 in Delhi that after the Japanese broadcast 'Bose was alive and seen 4 days ago in Saigon'. On Sept 11, 1945 Nehru himself told API at Jhansi, 'Like many other people, he did not believe the story about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose... I have received a number of reports, which have raised me in great doubt and I disbelieve the authenticity of the news'.

Every patriotic Indian expected that after coming into power on August 15, 1947 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Free India, would consider it as his first national duty to institute a high level investigation to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But he was found contrarily to adopt an unthinkable attitude of deliberate refusal to entertain any request for any inquiry about Netaji. Why after his own public statement that he disbelieved the news of Subhas Chandra Bose's death Pandit Nehru made a strange volte-face to adopt a completely reversed attitude ?

The answer to it can be found in the article of a former Editor of the Gujarati daily 'Janmabhumi' late Amritlal Seth, who accompanied Pandit Nehru, when he visited Singapore in 1946 as the guest of Admiral Mountbatten. Further evidence came from the text of the 'Nehru Oration' by Mountbatten. Shri Seth informed Sarat Chandra Bose immediately after coming back to India from Singapore, that Mountbatten warned Nehru that, 'If he played up Bose and his INA he will be taking the risk of presenting India on a platter to Bose when he returned back to India'. Yes, Panditji started to instantly comply with the advice of Mountbatten from Singapore itself. He shockingly cancelled his already agreed programme to place a wreath at the spot of the INA Memorial that was demolished by the British Army soon after reoccupation of Singapore. Returning home from Singapore Pandit Nehru was found to shut his mouth completely about anything that concerned Netaji and his INA.

### **Inquiry by Shah Nawaz Committee**

After coming to power as the Prime Minister of Free India, Pandit Nehru, adopted a policy of abject indifference and negligence, nay a covert opposition to everything about Netaji and his heroic legends. Pandit Nehru's worst stance was his stubborn opposition to all requests and appeals made in the Parliament and outside for instituting a judicial inquiry about disappearance of Netaji. For 10 years he turned down all such appeals. But when the citizens of Calcutta decided to set up a non-official inquiry committee in 1956 with Dr. Radha Binode Pal, an internationally reputed jurist of the eminence of Tokyo Trial as its Chairman, Pandit Nehru suddenly announced to form an inquiry committee with Shah Nawaz Khan as its Chairman having no judicial status for the inquiry. But strangely, when even such a 'statement-collecting-committee' was conducting inquiry, Panditji forestalled the very objective of its inquiry by making a statement in the Parliament in which he said : 'I have no doubt today of the fact of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death, is, I think settled beyond doubt'.

How could Shah Nawaz Committee dare to unsettle this 'Settled fact beyond doubt' of Pandit Nehru ? This inquiry, this, queerly concluded in its findings : 'At no stage was the casket containing the ashes sealed, no formal receipt issued, nor again continuous watch kept over it. So, although there cannot be absolute certainty about it, nevertheless, ashes kept in the Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. If ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot be obviously the final resting place.' What an absurd findings! Can the issue of death of a man like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose be confirmed by not being 'absolutely certain', but by questioning it with 'if' ?



Shah Nawaz Committee, however, helped to have access to some very vital documents that were kept secret for 10 years after 1947. These documents showed that according to the intelligence report, in all probability, Netaji took shelter in Soviet Russia under the cover of a cooked-up story of his death. These documents also indicated that Gandhiji and Panditji received a letter from Netaji asking Nehru for making arrangement for his repatriation to India. Particular imports of these documents will be discussed later. But it should be mentioned here that Pandit Nehru suppressed all the vital intelligence reports from the public till 1956.

In 1951 Panditji had sent S.A.Ayer, a former Publicity Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Govt., to Tokyo to secretly contact Col. Tada to ascertain from him the report about Netaji's death. Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada, were attached to the Japanese wartime Military Headquarters at Saigon. They were the two high ranking Japanese officers who were deputed to prepare and execute the escape-plan of Netaji by Field Marshall Terauchi, highest in command of the S.E.Asia Jap Army. In his confidential report to Nehru, Ayer stated : 'This time I could gather very important information. Col. Tada told me that after the end of the war when Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Netaji and asked him to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory - all help will be given to him.'

In his statement in Lok Sabha, Panditji mentioned other parts of Ayer's confidential report to him which appeared to lend support to Tokyo broadcast, but this vital part was withheld from the House.

Pandit Nehru's conscience, however, appeared to prick during the last few month before he passed away. Although he repeatedly stated in the Parliament that 'Netaji's death was a settled fact beyond doubt' he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji on May 13, 1962 in reply to his letter that 'You asked me to send you proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I can't send you any precise and direct proof.....' Again just about a month before his death replying to a letter from Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, Panditji wrote : 'I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death.' Ah ! When it was the time for proper investigation, Nehruji deliberately stalled it !

### Confusing Japanese Documents

Japan is the only country which could definitely say or unsay if the report of the plane crash was true. Some documents and information placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee by the Japanese authority revealed a few vital facts :

Firstly, Japan didn't officially make any statement either by its civil or military authority to confirm the report of plane crash on August 18, 1945 involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Domai News Agency, a private body, made it over the Tokyo Radio. Later S.A.Ayer, in course of his deposition before Shah Nawaz Committee, told that on request from the Japanese authority at Tokyo, the text of the broadcast was prepared by him and not either by the Japanese Govt. or the Domai News Agency.

Secondly, the plane which reportedly crashed carried 13/14 passengers of which the Pilot, Co-pilot, Radio Engineer, Genl. Shedei, Netaji, - these five persons, who were required to fly to Dairen, reportedly died whereas all the other passengers miraculously survived with minor injuries, although the plane was reported to have had nose-dived, caught instant fire and broke into two parts. Non-Official, Japanese Expert Committee contradicted such a report as 'absurd'. After vertical nose-dive crash of



a burning plane from a sufficient altitude such selective survivals and selective killings were unthinkable according to their findings.

Thirdly, Japanese authority produced three - four photographs - first one of bandaged Habibur Rahman sitting by the side of a casket, second one of an urn reportedly carrying the ashes of Bose and the third one of a canvas-covered bundle marked as containing the alleged death body of Bose. If the Japanese could take trouble of getting four photographs why another photograph of uncovered body of Bose could not be taken if such a body existed at all? An uncovered body of Bose would have convinced each and everybody of India and of the Anglo-American Power that Bose really died in the aircrash. One such single photograph could have settled all doubts and all controversies about the report of Bose's death. Japanese authority failed to answer convincingly why they could not take a photograph of uncovered body of Bose if he really died.

Fourthly, Japanese Foreign Ministry submitted a cremation certificate of Bose issued by the Taihoku Municipality. It was written in Japanese script. On rendering this certificate into English it was strangely found that it was issued for a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who died of heart failure. Okura's age, the cause and date of his death and cremation, - nothing tallied with the report of the Tokyo broadcast about 'Chandra Bose.'

Fifthly, although it was stated that Genl. Shedei also died at Taihoku on the same date as a result of the aircrash, but his pension certificate showed that he died in the warfield. Genl. Shedei was appointed to command Japanese Kwantang Army in Manchuria after Russia attacked this Jap territory. Japanese could not produce any record of death and cremation certificate of Genl. Shedei supporting his death at Taihoku.

These few Japanese documents left rather indicative clues to infer that the report of aircrash was just a cooked-up story to cover Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia.

### Futile Khosla Commission

Though the Indian people didn't accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Panditji himself also agreed that 'something should be done to finalize the question of Netaji's death' - nothing was done by the Govt. till 1967. In this year about 350 members of Parliament belonging to all parties signed a memorandum and submitted it to the Central Govt. urging for a fresh judicial inquiry about Netaji. In no time before, such a memorandum was ever signed by the majority members of the Parliament for submitting to the Govt. for a national cause. However, it took over two years' persistent agitation to make the Govt. of India agree to set up on July 11, 1970 a 'one-man judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' A retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court was appointed its Chairman. After 4 years of unnecessarily prolonged sittings of the Commission, Justice Khosla submitted his report to the Govt. on June 30, 1974. Khosla Commission's Report appeared just as a chimera of a judicial findings, - worse than the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee. Mr. Khosla made no effort to search for national and international documents connected with the Netaji affairs, made no analysis of the Japanese documents produced before the Commission, brushed aside the evidence of the 84 Indian witnesses giving cursory attention to them while devoting his attention mainly on the evidence of five Japanese witnesses claiming as co-passengers of Netaji and the fifth one of a doctor, who said to have treated



injured Bose. Though none of them could produce any document to verify their identities, statements and claims. Mr. Khosla treated them as 'truthful witnesses' to draw his conclusion exclusively on their evidence that Bose died after the reported aircrash.

Worst still, Mr. Khosla exceeded all his limits in making political commentary in unbelievably derogatory terms by calling Netaji a 'Puppet', a 'Pawn', a 'Quisling' of Japan, etc. in his report. In his report atleast in 27 places he made outrageous remarks denigrating the revolutionary personality of Netaji. This man, violating all judicial norms, was seen to bring a 'present' for Mrs. Indira Gandhi while returning from Taiwan and write her biography while working as the Chairman of the Commission. Further, before his report was placed on the table of Lok Sabha he published a book calling it 'Last Days of Netaji'. Mr. Khosla was severely indicted by the Calcutta High Court for his derogatory remarks about Netaji. He also faced a Privilege Motion in Lok Sabha for violating the terms of the Inquiry Commission. But he somehow escaped harsh punishments by offering unconditional apology to the High Court and the Speaker of Lok Sabha. Thus, because of his tendentious behaviour of the Chairman of the Netaji Inquiry Commission, the judicial and moral basis of his findings were vitiated in such a way that its whole objective was completely frustrated.

### **Findings Rejected by the Morarji Govt.**

Because of the sudden imposition of Emergency in June 1975 and arrest of Opposition leaders, including the present writer, the report of Khosla Commission was debated in Lok Sabha as late as in 1978 after the formation of the Janata Govt. A documentary book, 'Netaji - Dead or Alive ?' written by the writer was released by the then President of India Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy. The long debate and the documentary materials published in the book convinced a man of very rigid outlook like Shri Morarji Desai, that the two inquiries about Netaji failed to serve the purpose of the investigation. In reply to the debate, Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai said in a statement in Lok Sabha on Sept 3, 1978 :

'Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive.'

It was very vital statement. Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting Khosla Commission in 1970. And now in 1978 Shri Morarji Desai rejected the findings of both the inquiries to reopen the issue of disappearance of Netaji. It now, consequently, devolved on the Morarji Govt. to find out, - then, what really happened to Netaji ? Morarjibhai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' in an effort to resolve the Netaji issue as he felt that after so many years any further judicial inquiry would not serve the main purpose. But before his suggestion could be materialized the Janata Govt. fell.

### **Decision of Investigative Inquiry by the Chandra Sekhar Govt.**

The whole issue of renewal of Netaji inquiry remained muted for about 10 years. After formation of the Janata Dal Govt. the issue was taken up with the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh, who asked his Minister of External Affairs, Shri I.K.Gujral to 'look into the matter'. But before any step could be taken, V.P.Singh Govt. had to quit. The matter was again taken up with the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. In both these moves the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman very patriotically extended his moral support to the cause behind the inquiry.



In fact, he took initiative to ask both Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to fulfil the national duty to find out what really happened to Netaji. In a letter on May 29, 1992, The President assured that he will again pursue the matter of Investigative inquiry about disappearance of Netaji with the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao. His letter :

**PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

New Delhi,  
May 29, 1992.

Dear Shri Samar Guha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 27. I shall pursue the matter with the P.M.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

**R.VENKATARAMAN**

Prof. Samar Guha,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta - 700032.

Finally, On March 26, 1991 the Deputy Minister of External Affairs informed the writer in a letter : 'The Ministry has initiated a High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development.' His letter :

**DEPUTY MINISTER  
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
INDIA**

No.489/DM/91

March 26, 1991.

Dear Prof. Samarjee,

1. Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.
3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

**(DIGVIJAY SINGH)**

Prof. Samar Guha,  
Ex-Member of Parliament,  
8/2, Central Park,  
CALCUTTA - 700032.



But because of resignation of Chandra Sekhar Govt. this laudable decision about the Investigative Inquiry remained hanging in uncertainty.

### **A National Task for Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao**

It appears that the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has not been posted with all facts about the rejection of the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission and the subsequent decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute an 'Investigative Inquiry' about the issue of disappearance of Netaji. Otherwise the Govt. would not have used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna for Netaji. Now, it is a legal, moral and sacred patriotic task for Narasimha Rao Govt. to effectively work-out the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a 'High level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' and to 'finalize', to quote Pandit Nehru, the poignant issue that remained hanging about the fate of the epic hero of the Indian liberation.

### **An Investigative Inquiry, - Why ?**

Why an Investigative Inquiry instead of another public inquiry about Netaji ? Only four Japanese, - the Chief of the Staff of the Japanese Army of the Tokyo Headquarters, Field Marshall Terauchi of S.E.Asia Japanese Command at Saigon, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari-Kikan and Col. Tada, a trusted officer of Terauchi's Headquarter, were the four key figures, who programmed and executed the escape-plan of Netaji to convey him to Russian territory of Siberia across the Manchurian border. All these principal persons are now dead. Political situation in Japan has now changed so much, that few people of its administration after 47 years can be expected to recollect the episode of the political move around the movement of Subhas Chandra Bose after fall of Japan.

Now mainly the Secret documents, reports, informations and findings of various inquiries that are likely to be available in the archives of Japan, UK, USA, Taiwan and most importantly of former the USSR, now the Russian Federation, can provide positive facts about what really happened to Netaji.

Soon after the report of the air crash involving Netaji, the Wavell Govt. of India, Adml. Mountbatten of S.E.Asia Allied Command and Genl. Mac Arthur of the U.S.Pacific Army - instituted three 'immediate inquiry' separately to verify the truth about the alleged air crash death of Subhas Chandra Bose. After reoccupation of Formosa (now Taiwan), on orders from Genl. Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify whether any air accident took place at Taipei (Taihoku) airport on August 18, 1945. And if so, whether Subhas Chandra Bose was in it.

None of the reports of these inquiries or their findings have been published. Only Wavell Govt. non-officially leaked-out to the press that its inquiry found that the report of air crash death of Subhas Chandra Bose was correct. However, this was only for the consumption of the Indian public. Neither the Govt. of Wavell nor Mountbatten nor the Govt. of U.K. at any time officially confirmed Netaji's death. What the Wavell Govt. came to know after its investigation was secretly communicated to the U.K. Govt. in the form of 'Top Secret' despatch by R.F.Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy which has already been quoted earlier. This report informed Attlee Govt. that under the cover of the story of his death Bose took asylum in Russia.

### **Mountbatten's Inquiry Report**

Mountbatten's inquiry report was never published, nor its findings were made known. A few pages of Mountbatten's Diary were given to the Shah Nawaz Committee in which it was



found that the British Investigation Officer observed : '..... It appears that the whole thing is suspicious.... The description of the funeral is more suspicious.... Perhaps the aircrash was cooked-up at Taihoku. Possibly after that Bose escaped somewhere.'

In 1978 the then Indian High Commissioner in U.K., Shri N.G.Goray, wrote to Lord Mountbatten : 'I would like to refer particularly to pages 137, 138 and 139 of Volume VI (of the Transfer of Power, 1942-47)' : that the Govt. of India knew that Shri Bose was alive and they were discussing how he should be dealt with. As you took over from Lord Wavell it will not be wrong to presume that you must have come to know every detail about the incident.'

Mountbatten very much knew the outcome of the inquiry which he himself ordered as the S.E.Asia Allied Command. And further as being a Viceroy of India, succeeding Lord Wavell, he had many reports about Netaji in possession of his Govt. He was keenly interested about Bose as he warned Pandit Nehru at Singapore in early 1946 'not to play-up Bose and his INA', as he believed that Bose was alive. But Lord Mountbatten preferred to evasively reply to Goray on March 10, 1978 : '... there was no official record of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives.' Look ! how truthfully behaved the 'Admiral of the Fleet, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, KG, PC, GCB, OM, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, DSO, FRS, Braodlands, Romsey, Hampshire 905 9 D. !'

However, evasive though he tried to be in his reply to Shri Goray - one thing he did truthfully that he didn't confirm Bose's death.

The British Global Military Intelligence of the War days, briefly called CSDIC, deputed B.C.Chakraborty, an Indian senior officer, to interrogate Col. Habibur Rahman. Chakraborty told Khosla Commission : 'After analysing all the reports that were in hands at the time with the CSDIC, it was obvious that Col. Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese Govt. concealed facts. Their reply was nothing other than a product of conspiracy regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945 : None of them (the British Military Intelligence or the U.S.) believed that the information about Netaji's death could be correct'.

It is interesting to note that according to the evidence of Mir Chandani and B.C.Mallik, two former Chiefs of the Indian Intelligence, they told Khosla Commission that the Govt. of U.K. and the Govt. of India that pursued all the reports about Bose are still in possession of Govt. of U.K. besides the reports of Mountbatten's inquiry which, according to their policy decision, will be published after 100 years of 'The Transfer of Power'.

### **Probe by Genl. Mac Arthur**

The investigation report of Genl. Mac Arthur's team was very vital because the U.S. team reached Tokyo and Formose (Taiwan) much earlier than the British team. This U.S. team examined all the concerned Japanese officer at Tokyo and Taihoku and repeatedly interrogated Col. Habibur Rahman. But nothing has been published so far about Mac Arthur's inquiry.

However, some facts were indirectly known about this report. At the time of Tokyo Trial after the War, Genl. Tojo, Genl. Fuzyama and other highest war-time Jap leaders, who were facing trial, were found to stand up and bow down their heads very reverentially when Chandra Bose's name was mentioned during the session of the Tokyo Trial. The U.S. jurists of the Trial being curiously intrigued by the performance of the civil and military Jap leaders of the war-days asked their Indian colleague, Dr. Radha Vinod Pal, why the Japanese behaved in that way when the name of Subhas Chandra Bose was mentioned ? They were told that it was the Japanese tradition of showing respect to the man whom they held in highest esteem. The U.S. jurist told Dr. Pal that 'what they know about U.S. inquiry, Subhas Chandra Bose didn't die in the alleged aircrash, - he escaped'. This information was given to the press by



Dr. Pal after returning to India. Uptill now the U.S. Govt. have not mentioned anything about the report and the findings of the Mac Arthur's inquiry.

### Investigation by Taipei Mayor

The Mayor of Taipei (Taihoku) of Taiwan (Formosa) soon after Chinese reoccupation of Formosa about a month after fall of Japan made an inquiry to verify the report of Bose's death in an aircrash at the Taipei airfield. The President of the Nationalist China, Genl. Chiang- Kai- Shek had very friendly relation with Subhas Chandra Bose in pre-war days. According to the report of H.V.Kamath, Prokash Vir Shastri and Mulka Govind Reddy – all former members of Parliament, who visited Taiwan on invitation by an unofficial organisation there, - the Mayor of Taipei told them that their inquiry could not verify the report of any aircrash at Taipei on August 18, 1945 involving Subhas Chandra Bose.

Taihoku airfield was the place of occurrence of the reported aircrash. But Pandit Nehru didn't allow Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taipei (Taihoku). However, Khosla Commission was allowed to visit this city, but Mr. Khosla refused to write to the Govt. of Taiwan to give him a copy of the Taipei Mayor's inquiry report on diplomatic plea, although the Taiwan Govt. was willing to respond to Indian request. The matter later was raised in Lok Sabha, when the then Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, denied if any such instruction was sent to Khosla. This report of the Mayor of Taipei is still available in the archives of the Taiwan Govt.

### Habibur Rahman's Story

Col. Habibur Rahman stuck to his story of Netaji's death although he could convince neither the British, nor the American investigating team, nor any of his INA colleagues. After interrogation of Habibur Rahman by the British team it observed: 'Habibur Rahman is unwilling to come out with truth'. Everybody took his version as that of a soldier's statement in defence of the escape-plan of his master.

Habibur Rahman showed a rectangular watch with a burnt band saying that Netaji had it in his wrist when he was engulfed in the burning flame after the aircrash. But it was known to every INA personnel that Netaji always used a round shaped wrist watch and not any rectangular one. When Bhulabhai Desai, the Chief of the INA Defence Council asked Habibur Rahman to open the Watch, it was found that the oil inside the watch remained intact without forming any clot, although Habibur Rahman claimed that it was almost consumed in flame at the time of aircrash. Shri Desai indicatively smiled and returned the watch to Rahman without any comment.

While describing all about the aircrash, Habibur Rahman used to say that when the plane crashed he was wearing an wollen jumper, whereas Netaji had a Khaki suit on his body. When he was asked how was it that not a single thread of his wollen jumper was burnt but Netaji's less inflammable Khaki suit was 'horribly' caught in fire ? Habibur fumbled to answer this searching question.

Again, he said that he made frantic effort with both his hands to put out the flame all around Netaji's body after the aircrash. But when he was asked how could it happen that the palms of his two hands bore no burnt marks whereas the dorsal of his two hands showed some hazy marks, which in all probability could be of acid-burn? He looked vacant and attempted no explanation.

In 1947 before he moved to Pakistan, Habibur Rahman lived with his father-in-law who was the 'Prime Minister' of the Princely State of Alwar. He confessed to Mr. Khemchand the ICS Secretary to the Alwar Prime Minister that Netaji's death-story was nothing but cooked-up.



In 1956 Habibur Rahman came to Delhi from Pakistan to appear before the Shah Nawaz Committee. However, a few days before his departure for Delhi the 'Civil and Military Gazette' of Lahore published a news that Habibur Rahman told this paper that Netaji didn't die in the aircrash. This report was published in 'East Pakistan' dailies also. But he declined to contradict it. Habibur Rahman refused to appear before Khosla Commission to avoid cross examination by the judicial commission. Before non-judicial Shah Nawaz Committee he submitted just a written statement.

In 1966 when a Japanese biographer of Netaji, Mr. Hayashida, met Habibur in Rawalpindi, he repeated nothing than the same story of Netaji's death but added : '**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the greatest revolutionary that the Indian Subcontinent produced in the present century.....Many in Bharat still believe that he is still alive and will turn up someday. How we wish he had come back alive ! The flame of freedom lit by him is still burning and will continue to inspire the freedom fighters all over the world for all times to come.**' Oh ! how Habibur Rahman failed to hold back the truthful impulse of his inner conscience in some sensitive moment !

### **Internal Documents, 'Missing or Destroyed'**

Nehru Govt. got in its possession all the secret reports of the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten after the 'Transfer of Power'. Panditji was also known to maintain a special file about Netaji. But Nehru Govt. placed only a few documents before the Shah Nawaz Committee and Indira Govt. also supplied almost the same package of files again for the scrutiny of the Khosla Commission. These documents included a few pages of Mountbatten's Diary, some parts of Figgis Report and a small part of the report of CSDIC. Some irrelevant papers were also sent to the Commission. However, inside the package of these official documents a very intriguing official note was found enlisting some 40 secret files about Netaji marked as 'Either Missing' or 'Papers Destroyed' ? Pandit Nehru's personal and other official files regarding the issue of Netaji were kept by Md. Yunus. 'Papers destroyed' were about 15. 'Notes destroyed' were about 12. 'Prime Minister's Secretariate File 'missing or destroyed' included - (i) Investigation into circumstances leading to the death of Subhas Chandra Bose, (ii) 'Indian National Army (INA) in the Far East', and (iii) 'INA Treasure'. These files were either deliberately destroyed or intentionally withheld. Mr. Khosla dared not to ask the Govt. why these valuable secret files were either 'destroyed or missing' and what were the contents of these files?

### **Netaji's Destination was Russia**

It has been established from all documents and evidences that Netaji's destination after fall of Japan was Russia. Four days before the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 a special messenger from the Imperial headquarter of Tokyo, Mr. Negishi, rushed to Seramban in Malay to handover a confidential message from the highest Japanese authority. It showed in what respect the Japanese held Netaji. This confidential message urged Netaji to Immediately move to Saigon to fly out of the S.E.Asia zone without any delay. However, instead of accompanying Mr. Negishi, Netaji rushed to Singapore, the Hd. Qrt. of Azad Hind Govt. and held an emergent meeting of his Cabinet to decide the future course of the Azad Hind Govt. and the INA in the event of Japanese surrender. Netaji proposed to surrender to the British Army at Singapore. But his Cabinet unanimously decided that Netaji should make every effort to cross into Soviet Russia, whereas the Cabinet Ministers and the INA would surrender to the British Army at Singapore. After arguing with his Cabinet Ministers, Netaji finally agreed to bow-down to honour the wishes of his Cabinet. On 14th August Netaji attended a cultural function of the Jhansi Regiment without disclosing what was going to happen next day.



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As Netaji was delaying to reach Saigon, on August 12, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan and Mr. Hachia, Jap Ambassador to the Azad Hind Govt. rushed to Singapore. On 13th August another messenger from Tokyo, Col. Sakai, reached Singapore to persuade Netaji to leave the area without any further delay. Netaji had several secret meetings with Col. Sakai and in one such meeting Col. Habibur Rahman was called in and directed by Netaji to hand over the charge of his office to Mj. Genl. M.Z.Kiani, who was given overall authority by Netaji to surrender to the British Army, separately from the Japanese, on behalf of the Azad Hind Govt. and its INA.

Netaji reached Bangkok on Aug 16, along with Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi, Col. Sakai, Col. Habibur Rahman, S.A. Ayer, Debnath Das, Pritam Singh, Mj. Hasan, Col. Gulgara Singh and others. At Bangkok, Netaji had several secret conclaves with Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada who were specially deputed by Field Marshall Terauchi to finalise Netaji's escape-plan. Again at Bangkok also Col. Habibur Rahman was exclusively called in by Netaji in one of such meetings. None else of the INA was asked to attend the secret conclaves. Next day on 17th August a plane took off at about 5 p.m. from Saigon carrying Netaji, Habibur Rahman, Genl. Shedei and few other Japanese Officers. The plane had an overnight hop at Tourane in North Vietnam.

What was the destination of Netaji? Except Col. Habibur Rahman who made every effort to conceal all facts about the fateful movement of Netaji, on August 18, 1945, all other important Japanese witnesses like Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi and Col. Tada and all the Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. and the important INA Officers categorically told the Khosla Commission that Netaji's plan was to go to Russia via Dairen.

Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada of FM Terauchi's HQ of Saigon were entrusted by the supreme Japanese command to prepare and execute Netaji's escape plan to convey him safely to Russian Siberia. Genl. Isoda unreservedly told Khosla Commission: **'The purpose of Netaji's plan was to go to Soviet Union.... He was going to Russia via Saigon.... There was no plan to stay at Saigon. Genl. Isoda's Statement was much earlier corroborated by Col. Tada in a secret communication to S.A. Ayer when Pandit Nehru unannouncedly sent him to meet Col. Tada in 1951. In his 'confidential note' to Nehru, Ayer wrote: 'Col. Tada told me that it was arranged that Subhas Chandra Bose will fly in a plane in which Genl. Shedei was going. Genl. Shedei will look after Subhas Chandra Bose upto Dairen (in Manchuria) and thereafter he would fall back on his own resources to contact Russian. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allied power....'. After arrival of Col. Sakai from Tokyo it was found that Terauchi's plan coincided with the plan of the Tokyo Imperial Headquarters. Col. Tada further disclosed to Ayer that '.... The Japanese HQ had planned to make a false announcement of Netaji's disappearance.'**

Col. Tada's disclosure showed that both the Imperial HQ and the HQ of Terauchi at Saigon planned to fly Netaji to Dairen with Genl. Shedei from where Gen. Shedei was to escort Netaji up to Siberia across the Manchurian border. To execute this plan five days were required and that was why although the plane was reported as have had crashed on August 18, the so-called death news of Netaji was broadcast on August 23.

Khosla Commission was told by all the Cabinet Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. that Netaji maintained a special liaison with Jakob Malik, the war-time Russian Ambassador at Tokyo.



That Netaji reached Moscow has also been verified by several reports of the British intelligence sent to the Wavell Govt. in late 1945 and in early 1946. These informations, which the Govt. of Nehru didn't disclose in 1946 came before the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 alongwith the Govt. papers submitted before it. One of these reports says '.... There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. This information alleges that Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are those who were aware of this. It is probably that a letter arrived about the time Gandhiji made his public statement.'

In another intelligence report it was stated that 'Bose' was in Russia. Assuming the name of Ghilzai Malang (It is known that Netaji was a past-master in assuming false names). In the third intelligent report it was said '..... In Dec 1945 a report said that Russian Ambassador in Kabul informed that Bose was in Moscow. In a report received from Tehran stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia.....'.

The British intelligence pursued this reports for further probe and submitted them to the Govt. of Wavell. These reports were said to be, as communicated to Khosla Commission, 'either missing or destroyed'.

Shri Shyamlal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Secretary of the INA Defence Council, told Khosla Commission that he was asked by Pandit Nehru on Dec 26/27, 1945 in the residence of Mr. Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which read: '.... Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon alongwith Genl. Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory, the Jeep returned after about 3 hours ....' Pandit Nehru sent a copy of this letter to the U.K. Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, asking him how Russia, their War-time ally, could provide shelter to Bose. This letter to Mr. Attlee was also typed by Shyamlal Jain. It appears unthinkable that Panditji could write such a letter to Attlee. But neither the Govt. nor Mr. Khosla challenged the statement of Shyamlal Jain.

Most positive and authentic information came from the source of the British Govt. in their documents 'Transfer of Power - 1942- 47' published in 1975. It has already been mentioned earlier that the British Govt. had the information that Netaji reached Russia and but preferred to remain silent about this report.

Many other indirect hints came about Netaji's presence in Russia. On reaching India after serving in Moscow as India's first Ambassador, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, made a startling statement at Bombay on her coming back to India. But after reaching Delhi she shut her mouth completely. Khosla Commission asked her, sending a formal letter, if she knew that Netaji was in Russia. She declined to appear before the Commission sending a strange reply: 'I have not met Subhas Chandra Bose after 1940'. Mr. Khosla didn't dare to summon her for cross examination.

The second Ambassador to Moscow Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan confided his very close Calcutta friend Dr. Saroj Ray, an eminent philosopher of Calcutta University that he came to know that 'Subhas Bose is in captivity in Stalin's Russia.' This information was communicated to Shri Morarji Desai by the great historian Dr. R.C.Majumdar, an intimate friend of Dr. Saroj Roy.

### Netaji in Russia - Two Revealing Reports

However, besides this indirect information, a revealing report came from a Bharat Heavy Engineering Corpn. Engineer, Shri A.Sarkar, now residing at Calcutta, who was sent to Russia three times by the Corporation for training in manufacture of heavy machineries. Sarkar learnt



Russian quite well. He came in contact with a German-Jew, B.A. Zerobin, who was Deputy Chief of a Machine Building Plant (Machinostroitel'nyy zavod) at Gorlovka near the city of Doonesk. Mr. Zerobin told Sarkar that while he was in a Siberian Re-orientation Camp after being captured in Berlin, he surprisingly met Bose in the Camp. It was in 1961. Zerobin claimed that he saw Bose earlier in Berlin during the days of War. According to Zerobin, one day Bose was brought to the Re-orientation Camp in a car accompanied by two Mongolian guards, one acting as his interpreter. Zerobin rushed to Bose exclaiming: 'Sir, I met you in Berlin?' Bose replied, 'Quite likely'. Bose asked Zerobin, 'What are you doing here?' Zerobin: 'I don't know what for'. Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir? Are you going back to India?' Bose replied: 'Expected to be soon'. Bose and Zerobin were talking in German. The Mongolian interpreter intervened and said, 'Not allowed'. Zerobin said that he saw Bose in the Re-orientation Camp only on two occasions.

Zerobin warned Sarkar that if he divulged anything about Bose in Russia it would cost lives of both, - of Zerobin and Sarkar too. Notwithstanding Zerobin's warning Sarkar tried to contact Indian Embassy at Moscow. But he was sternly warned by one of the Secretary to shut his mouth about the matter. Frightened Sarkar remained muted for years.

After Glasnost and Perestroika when liberal winds began to blow in Russia, a former Chairman of the Lok Sabha Privilege Committee (present writer) wrote a long letter to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, giving all available facts about the reports of Netaji's going to Russia after the fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy and Shri Gyani Jail Singh with their own comments. Shri S. Nijalingappa, the former oldest President of the Congress, also sent another letter to the Russian leader. But all these letters remained unacknowledged and unreplyed.

Latest positive confirmation about Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946 came from a document found in the archives of the Princeton University of USA in 1990. It is the copy of the letter written on 22nd July 1946 by Khurshed Behn to the eminent American journalist Louis Fischer, who came in close contact with Mahatma Gandhi. Giving briefly the idea about the political situation in India in 1946 Khurshed Behn wrote to Fischer: 'At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also (if) Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India.' This letter was written to Louis Fischer as he had access to the USA President.

It was a hand written letter as it was very confidential. Khurshed Behn was a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and lived with him in his Wardha Ashram. It was obvious that Khurshed Behn really wrote the letter to Louis Fischer being dictated by Gandhiji.

Khurshed Behn never moved an inch without the hint from the Mahatma. This letter provided a definite affirmation why Gandhiji made repeated statements in 1946 telling the Indian people that he believed 'Netaji is alive and hiding some where.'

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru knew all these facts about Netaji's taking shelter in Russia. But he did nothing to contact Stalin or his successor Russian leaders to enquire about Netaji and arrange for his repatriation to his motherland. Rather after getting into power in Delhi Pandit Nehru was seen to adopt an attitude of stoic silence regarding anything about Netaji. Regrettably, no other Indian Govt. after Nehru also made any efforts to contact the Govt. of USSR to ascertain all facts published about Netaji's taking shelter in that country.



## Now an Unfulfilled National Duty for Shri Narasimha Rao

Mr. Clement Attlee who piloted the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Common came to visit India as a private citizen in mid-fifty. He was asked at Calcutta Raj Bhavan by the then acting Governor of West Bengal, Justice Phani Bhusan Chakraborty : 'Mr. Attlee, why did you quit India so precipitously after winning the Great War ?'. Prompt was the reply from the former Prime Minister of Britain : 'Because of the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose.' Yes, our Sub-continent which is now called India, Pakistan and Bangladesh got independence in 1947 because of the irresistible thrust of the revolutionary legends of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his INA. After the last Great War when the Saga of the Azad Hind Revolution raised a volcanic upsurge of militant patriotism that shook the very foundation of British Raj in India every Indian leader, except Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahammad Ali Jinnah, was seen to vie with one another in showing their eloquent homages on Netaji. But after India attained freedom nothing was done to acknowledge our national gratitude to the greatest national hero of our independence. Nay, no effective move was made to find out what really happened to him.

After 10 years of persistant agitations Pandit Nehru formed Shah Nawaz Committee 'to enquire into 'death of Netaji'. The Committee produced a report which the Indian people refused to accept. Again in 1967 more than 350 Members of Parliament launched a fresh agitation for instituting a judicial inquiry into Netaji's disappearance. After more than 2 year's continuous agitation the Govt. of Indira Gandhi instituted 'A one-man Judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' But the whole inquiry was vitiated by the tendentious motivation of its Chairman, Justice Khosla for which he had to unconditionally apolized once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. On Sept 3, 1978 Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. As the issue of the inquiry about Netaji was reopened by the Govt., Shri Morarji Desai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' to finalise the matter of the Netaji-inquiry. But no move could be made as his Govt. fell in 1979.

Again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji was taken up by the successive Govts. of Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was because of the patriotic and moral intervention of the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman, Chandra Sekhar Govt. announced on March 1991; 'starting of a High Level Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose into the documents available with Govts. of UK, USA, USSR, Japan and others'. But this move also got bogged because of resignation of the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

All hopes now rests with the willingness and the initiative of the veteran Freedom Fighter, Shri Narasimha Rao. Will India's present Prime Minister fulfil the objective of the Investigative Inquiry about Netaji as has already been decided by his predecessor Govt. ? If he feels it as our patriotic task to fulfil our unfulfilled national duty to Netaji, then his Govt will have to make a sincere and serious move to execute this investigation in a proper manner.

Firstly, the Prime Minister of India would have to write to all the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for making available the reports of the inquiries already made by them long before about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose of India.



Secondly, the Govt. should write to the Japanese Govt. to provide all documents connected with the reports of the aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei) allegedly involving Netaji.

Thirdly, which is most vital, the Prime Minister of India should approach the new Russian Govt. and its sister's States to let India know what KGB know about Netaji's taking shelter in the former USSR. Now a new wind of freedom and liberalism is blowing in Russia and if our Govt. in such radically changed milieu take up the issue in all earnestness with the present Russian Govt. there is no reason why the present Govt. of Russia will not come out with all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that were and are still locked in the KGB files Stalin's achieves and other quarters.

In 1946 the Govt. of Communist China also featured in various news relating to Netaji. The Govt. of India should also approach the Communist regime of China to find out if they have any facts with them about Subhas Chandra Bose.

Lastly, the Govt. of India should make a thorough search to find out from their own official files and archives what were those 'top secret files' which were reported as 'either missing or destroyed'. What were the contents of these files should be carefully inquired into and all efforts should be made to trace Pandit Nehru's special files about Netaji and the other files left behind by the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten at the time of Transfer of Power.

The INA treasure that have been kept in the Delhi National Museum, — all about its sources, who brought them, how they were collected, — all facts should be inquired into.

Efforts should also be made to contact the family of Col. Habibur Rahman, who died two years back, to ascertain if he left any document, diary or any note about Netaji.

About 50 years after the last Great War there is no reason to believe that the Allied Powers' past political prejudices against Subhas Chandra Bose will stand any more in the way of their cooperation with the proposed Investigative Inquiry. For Russia, it is the most opportune moment when a friendly move by the Govt. of India is likely to succeed to convince the Russian Govt. to give out all facts, reports, documents and information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking shelter in Russia that are in possession or were in possession of the former KGB and other Russian secret sources.

The Govt. of India should set up a high level expert committee, to draw out the parameter and modality of its functioning to scan, scrutinise and judge all the documents likely to be available from the sources of the foreign governments and from the internal sources of our Govt. If our Govt. make a determined and honest effort the proposed Investigative Inquiry will certainly succeed to finally let our countrymen know what really happened to our Netaji.

### **Unanswered still Remains the Questions !**

Netaji is no longer any political challenge to anybody. He is also not dead legally. The issue is still open before the Govt. There is no proof of his death in the alleged aircrash. There is no reports that he died elsewhere. There is no visual proof, as well, of his being alive. The long question still remained unanswered. Then, what happened to our Netaji ?

Is he still languishing in the desolate cell of a Siberian Concentration Camp ? Has he been killed there by Stalin or did he die a gruelling death in a lonely cell ? Or, by the grace



of the Maha Shakti he always worshipped, has the revolutionary pilgrim of India succeeded to come out of the Russian Concentration Camp ? Is he now living incognito as a 'Sanyasin' - a supreme consummation of his spiritual aspiration from the days of his early youth ?

We do not know yet what really happened to Netaji. But it is a sacred national duty that we have failed so long to know what really happened to the Maha Kshatriya of Modern India. Will Shri Narasimha Rao, a former Freedom Fighter, rise above all small political considerations to accept the national task of finding what really happened to the Netaji of the Indian people ? If Shri Rao fulfills this task his name will remain enshrined in the hearts of the Indian people. If Gandhiji survived a few years more he would have raised storm in India to know the truth about Netaji, who 'gambled away his life' for the emancipation of his motherland. Let us not remain ungrateful to the epic hero of Indian freedom !

## II

### An Appeal To Boris Yeltsin

Mr. Boris Yeltsin  
Hon'ble President  
Federation of Russia  
Moscow, Russia

Honourable Sir,

After the great non-violent democratic revolution in the former Soviet Union under your leadership, Indian people are watching the democratic developments in the Russian Federation and its sister States with deep interest. What has happened in the former USSR is a seismic event that has shaken the existing co-relations of the present politics of the modern world, opening a new vista of peace, amity and human rights before the whole humanity.

Indian relation with Russia had always been friendly, cordial and mutually trustworthy. Indian freedom movement received sustained support from Russia. Our greatest national revolutionary, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was twice elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, showed consistent interest in cultivating Russian friendship for the cause of Indian freedom.

After his historic escape from the British India in January 1941, he intended to reach Moscow via Kabul. But, because of the policy of Stalin at that time, Subhas Chandra Bose was compelled by the prevailing circumstances to divert his destination to Germany via Moscow to seek help of the "enemy's enemy" for ousting British Imperialism from India. He had to seek help of the Axis Power, though he was opposed to their ideology, for exploiting international enmity between Britain and Germany and also because of the fact that due to the Russo-German Pact, existing at that time, Germany was looked upon by him as an ally of Russia.

After the treacherous attack of Russia by Nazi Army in June 1941, the dream of Subhas Chandra Bose to achieve Indian independence with the collaborative help of Russia and Germany was shattered. Sitting at the very den of Hitler, Subhas Bose, the intrepid Indian Revolutionary, dared to write to Hitler's Foreign Minister Mr. Ribbentrop that "the Indian people



will view 'German attack' of Russia as an 'imperialist aggression.' Though Subhas Chandra Bose formed as Indian Legion in Germany, he never uttered a word in support of Nazi aggression of Russia, nor did he allow the Indian Legion to be used in anyway against the interest of Russia.

Being frustrated in Germany, Subhas Chandra Bose undertook an unthinkable hazard of 90 days Submarine journey from Kiel to Singapore. He created a saga of Revolutionary War of Indian Liberation against British Imperialism, the fiery impact of which ultimately compelled the British power to quit its Indian Empire after the War.

While waging 'War of Independence' against British Imperialism with the help of Japan, Subhas Chandra Bose never uttered a single word, nor did he do anything adversely against Russia or China. Rather, he always tried to maintain an attitude of friendship towards these two countries. His joining hands with Germany and Japan was motivated solely for winning Indian national independence.

When it became clear after fall of Germany that collapse of Japan was a matter of days, Subhas Chandra Bose contacted Mr. Jakob Malik, the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo, for seeking asylum in Russia. After surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, Tokyo Radio made a dubious broadcast on 23rd August circulating a story that Subhas Chandra Bose, the supreme leader of the Provisional Govt. of Free India, died in an air crash at Taihoku (Taipei). But the report of Bose's death was not confirmed officially either by Japan or the U.K. nor also by the USA. Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army and Adml. Mountbatten of the S.E. Asia Allied Command immediately ordered two separate inquiries to probe into the story of Subhas Chandra Bose's death. But their inquiries couldn't find any positive evidence to confirm Bose's death.

Subhas Chandra Bose made his flight from Saigon on Aug 17, 1945. His destination was Russia, via Dairen. According to the Mac Arthur's Inquiry Japan made a false broadcast on Aug 23, 1945 to comouflage Subhas Chandra Bose's escape into Russian Siberia via Dairen.

During the days of 1945-46 British Intelligence made many reports to the Viceroy of British India, that Subhas Chandra Bose under the cover of the story of his air crash death had actually reached Russia. This report was corroborated by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul, and the Russian Consul General at Tehean in 1946. It was told by them that Bose was living in Russia with an assumed Mongolian name of 'Ghilzai Malang'.

The Govt. of India instituted two inquiries to verify if the report of Bose's air crash death was true. But these two inquiries failed to confirm Bose's death. All the high officers of Subhas Chandra Bose's Revolutionary Army (INA) and the Ministers of his Provisional Govt. of Free India and all the high ranking Jap Generals and Jap diplomats, who appeared before the two Indian inquiries, categorically stated that Bose's plan after fall of Japan was to go to Russia.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador to Moscow told his personal friend, Dr. Saroj Das of the University of Calcutta that he got the information that Subhas Chandra Bose was held in captivity in Soviet Russia by Stalin.

In 1975 the British Govt. published secret documents concerning 'Transfer of Power' to India. In it a specially important note, after analysing the pros and cons of various measures



how to punish Subhas Chandra Bose if he was arrested, recommended to the British Govt. in late 1945 that :

"...In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of Course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties."

This note provides an authentic information that Bose took asylum in Russia after fall of Japan.

Another fact revealed is more startling. An Indian Engineer of Calcutta, Mr. A.Sarkar, who was deputed by the Govt. of India to have training in machine building plant in Russia, was three times in Russia and knew Russian well. Mr. Sarkar worked in the Machine Building Plant at Gorlovska near the city of Doniesk. He came in contact of a German - Jew there, who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant - Machinostroitelinizevod. His name was B.A.Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany. He claimed that he met the Indian Revolutionary Subhas Chandra Bose several times in Berlin.

Zerobin after being captured in Berlin, was taken to Siberia in a train to an unknown place, from where he was flown to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. In that Camp one day he suddenly found Subhas Chandra Bose coming out of a Car, flanked by two Mongolian guards. Seeing Bose, Zerobin excitedly rushed towards him and said : 'Sir, I have met you in Berlin'. Bose replied in his characteristic style : 'Quite likely'. Bose then asked Zerobin : 'What are you doing here?' Replied Zerobin : 'I don't know what for.' Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir ? Are you going back to India' ? Bose : 'I expect it to be soon.'

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, (Bose knew German well) the Mongolian guards intervened : 'Not allowed'.

Thereafter, Zerobin had no opportunity to meet Bose in the Siberian Re-orientation Camp.

Zerobin warned Mr. A.K.Sarkar that if he disclosed the report of his meeting with Subhas Chandra Bose in the Re-orientation Camp in Siberia, the lives of both Zerobin and Sarkar will be seriously endangered in Russia. After retiring from the Govt. job, Shri Sarkar took courage to disclose the report about Bose and that too many years later.

Prof. Samar Guha, a former member of the Indian Parliament and three-term Chairman of its Privilege Committee, - the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament, wrote a long letter to Mr. Gorbachev requesting him to disclose all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking asylum in Russia after fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Mr. Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Mr. N.Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. Gyani Zail Singh. A third letter was forwarded by the oldest President of Indian National Congress, Mr. S.Nijalingappa. Unfortunately, Mr. Gorbachev remained unresponsive.

A very important letter has been found out in 1991 in the archives of the US Princeton University, which confirmed the British report that Mahatma Gandhi knew that Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia in 1946. This letter was written by Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist Louis Fischer, who worked as go-between Gandhi



and the US President. This letter was written on 22nd July, 1946. In it was written by Khurshed Behn, inter alia :

".... At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (of Subhas Bose), if Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji, nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country ....."

Dear President Yeltsin ! We hope that you know how the Indian people hold Subhas Chandra Bose in their highest esteem as the greatest revolutionary of their national liberation. It was the saga of heroic exploits of the War of Indian Independence waged by Bose against the British Power that created such a tremendous anti-British upsurge in India after the Great War that it ultimately compelled the Britishers to withdraw from their Indian Empire. Mahatma Gandhi is hailed in India as the 'Father of the Nation' and in the same way Subhas Chandra Bose is acclaimed as 'The Netaji', -- the supreme liberator of the Indian people.

It is not yet known what really happened to Subhas Chandra Bose in Stalin's Russia. Many Indian Communist and Nationalist Revolutionaries were killed by Stalin. How Stalin treated Subhas Chandra Bose, the whole episode remained unrevealed.

Dear Mr. Yeltsin ! You have earned international admiration as the Liberator of the Russia people and a new harbinger of the message of peace, freedom and democracy for the humanity of our age. We beseech you to let the Indian people know what really happened to their beloved leader, their National Liberator, Subhas Chandra Bose, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia after fall of Japan. Your Govt. is now disclosing all secret KGB files, Stalin's confidential archives and other hitherto unknown secret reports of Stalin's days. You have gracefully rehabilitated many eminent Russians and have given promise to the US people to find out if any US soldiers are left anywhere in the Russian territory.

India and Russia are two great friendly countries. The people of these two countries had never any conflict between them. If you reveal all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, the greatest hero of Indian liberation, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia, you will win the hearts of the millions of the people of our country. The Indian people are pinning for years to know what ultimately happened to their beloved leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Promethean Hero of their nation, after he took political asylum in Stalin's Russia.

We beseech you again President Yeltsin to let the Indian people know all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose after he sought political asylum in Stalin's Soviet Russia !

May God bless you, bless the Russian people ! May God be in your heart to impel you to reveal all truths about the most beloved leader of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose, since he reached Russia after fall of Japan.

With warmest greetings and regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-  
SAMAR GUHA





Arvind Gupta  
Deputy Secretary (Soviet Union)

No. WI/411/5/90-EE

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

9 January 1992

Dear Minister,

This is further to my letter of even number dated 12 April 1991. Soviet Land (December 1991, no. 12) has published one more article by the Russian Historian-Professor A. Raikov titled "Subhash Chandra Bose in Germany (1941-1943)". I am enclosing a copy for the sake of your records.

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Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Arvind Gupta*

(Arvind Gupta)

Shri R.L. Narayan  
Minister (Pol.),  
Embassy of India,  
MOSCOW.

Encls.: As above.

Copy to Smt. Primrose R. Sharma, Dir. (EA), MEA,  
New Delhi and

ii) Shri N. Sikdar, Deputy Educational Adviser,  
Department of Culture, Ministry of Human  
Resource Development, Shastri Bhavan,  
New Delhi.

(Arvind Gupta)  
DS (SU)

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
M. J. 1/11/92  
SS PZ  
12/11/92  
CC(P)



# SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IN GERMANY (1941-1943)

*In this issue we are publishing one more item by Prof. A. Raikov, a well-known Soviet Indologist and our author for many years, from the series of materials based on a study of documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nazi Germany in German archives. The Soviet researcher found a great deal of little known and some altogether unknown material relating to the Third Reich's policy towards India. The material relating to the time Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, an outstanding leader of the national-liberation movement of India, spent in Germany, will be of particular interest to our readers. Many inaccurate and even erroneous claims about the "Berlin" period of Bose's life exist in historical literature. A. Raikov, basing his views on the documents which are little known or have never even been published in India before, presents his own interpretation of Bose's activity during this period.*

## "AN ENEMY OF MY FOE IS MY FRIEND"

The stay of Bose in Nazi Germany from April 1941 to February 1943 presents his biographers with a tricky problem: how should one appraise his nearly two-year collaboration with the clique which plunged mankind into a bloody massacre and intended to enslave the whole world? But in actual fact Subhas Chandra Bose was not a collaborator of the European type. He was guided exclusively by patriotic sentiments and pursued the sole aim of using all possible means to help liberate India, his homeland.

His first disappointment came right upon his arrival in Berlin: a low-ranking official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs met him, whereas he had been hoping for something more impressive. True, he was well accommodated in a luxurious three-room hotel suite and could contact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and even Abwehr chief Kanaris by telephone at any moment. But to meet Hitler he had to wait for more than one year.

In the meantime, on April 3 he was given a chance to set forth his considerations to Staatssekretär of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs E. Woermann. The minutes of this conversation and Woermann's opinion give a very good idea of Bose's intentions and the German reaction to them.

Bose stated that he wanted to set up an Indian government in exile "like the Polish government" and that he reckoned on certain promises by the "axis" countries, primarily in the form of guarantees recognising the independence of India. His plan further called for the organisation of a rebellion against the British in India. But, in his view, it was a 100,000 strong invading army, equipped with up-to-date weapons, which had to be the main instrument of its liberation from the colonialists. This army of "axis" powers would easily rout the 300,000-strong Anglo-Indian army, in which Indians numbered 230,000. The idea was that the Indians would immediately desert.

On Woermann's proposal, by April 9 Bose drew up a "Plan of Cooperation between the Countries of the Axis and India", which developed the ideas voiced by Bose in the first conversation. He expected the "axis" countries to conclude a treaty with "the government of free India", whereby the independence of India would be guaranteed in the event of victory. This time he reduced the strength of the invading army to 50,000.

Therefore, Bose proposed that the Germans liberate India and place it under a government which would, naturally enough, be headed by him. Apparently, at that time he did not think that his mighty ally, Germany, could hatch its own plans vis-a-vis India. This could be viewed as mere naivete uncharacteristic of such an experienced and mature politician as Bose. To all appearances, while formulating his far-reaching plans, he did not view himself as a beggar but as a representative of a great people with a great future and reckoned on a corresponding attitude towards himself. He did not realise immediately the way in which he had been transformed: from the position of a recognised national leader into an emigre who was not supported by the masses.

If he had learned of the considerations of Woermann, set forth in his memo about the conversation, he would have understood a lot more. Let us cite the main ideas of this memo. 1. "Agreement with Bose's plan would mean that we proclaim the liberation of India to be an aim of the war. This is doubtful." 2. The proclamation of a free Indian government headed by Bose in Berlin "would evoke an unfavourable response in India" because Bose is in opposition to Gandhi and Nehru, and would not politically benefit Germany. 3. The question of a military expedition to India "should not be the subject of discussion with Bose". The Hitlerite official viewed the gains which Bose's presence in Berlin could bring to Germany as the principal issue. He did not even mention the Indian people in his memo.

In the meantime, an important event occurred in Europe. On April 6, 1941, Nazi Germany attacked Yugoslavia and on April 13 Wehrmacht units entered

Belgrade. The fact that Bose deemed it possible to give recommendations to the Nazi leaders of Germany in the Additional Memorandum which he wrote shortly afterwards is worthy of note: "To successfully exterminate British power and influence from the countries of the Near and Middle East, the status quo between Germany and Soviet Russia should be maintained."

In all probability, Bose learnt something about the preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union, and he expressed his negative attitude to it clearly enough.

On April 29 Bose had a conversation with Minister of Foreign Affairs Ribbentrop. Bose had been looking forward to it and had pinned great hopes on the meeting, wishing to find out what Ribbentrop's attitude was to his plan. For his part, the Nazi Minister merely wanted to use Bose as a source of information of importance to Berlin.

One should give Bose's his due, for he boldly told Ribbentrop that "opposition to National Socialists and Fascists is rather strong in India" and that "an account of the anti-imperialist attitude of the Indians" showed that "the Soviet Union enjoyed a certain sympathy" because of its anti-imperialist positions. Furthermore, Bose raised an issue which he considered of paramount importance: the need to publish a declaration on the independence of India, once Germany achieved victory in the immediate liberation of India from colonial enslavement.

But Ribbentrop turned a deaf ear to Bose and simply ignored his questions. He did not mention either an Indian government in exile or a military campaign to India. After listening to Bose's answers on numerous questions about the internal political situation in India, the Minister promised to meet him, after he had studied the questions touched upon in the conversation. But the next meeting took place only seven months later.

Ribbentrop's stand and the fact that Hitler was avoiding meeting him inevitably perturbed Bose. Consequently on May 19, 1941, Bose himself offered his own draft of the declaration of India's independence to the Germans. In keeping with the draft, Germany was to recognise the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine on their own the state system after their liberation from the colonialists.

Germany was also to assume the obligation of helping the liberation of the Indian people and then of "recognising with joy" the government of an independent India.

But the Hitler clique was too busy preparing for a war against the USSR to pay attention to Bose. It was not Hitler or Ribbentrop, but a common official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Woermann, who informed Bose on May 24 that it was the "wrong time" to publish a declaration. He was "kindly" allowed to set up not a government but a wretched surrogate named the Free India Centre. A "loan" of one million marks was extended and a lavish monthly allowance of 12,000 reichsmarks was given to Bose for personal expenditures. But this was in fact only a gainful investment which was expected to bring large dividends. Despite this generosity, Bose became increasingly aware of the iron embrace clasp him. It did not take him long to find out that all his telephone calls were bugged and that his correspondence was opened and inspected. He was not allowed to maintain open contacts with Indians who were living in different European countries. When he flew to Rome on May 29, the German Embassy in Italy kept a watchful eye on him and notified Berlin of his activities in its reports dated June 6, 11, 18 and 29. Ribbentrop was right in fearing that Bose would choose Rome as his centre and did not want to lose his prey.

Bose's six-week stay in Rome is worthy of note inasmuch as it was not necessitated. Bose once characterised the atmosphere in Germany as "suffocating" and, to all appearances, wanted to be free of the intrusive checks and controls—for a short period of time at any rate. There was also another reason:



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Bose broke his oath to devote all his life to the cause of the independence of India, and secretly married his Austrian-born secretary Emily Schenk. So, it was his honeymoon.

In Rome Bose met Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ciano who noted in his diary Bose's discontent with the delay in the publication of his statement on Indian independence. As Ciano rightly wrote, Berlin had shown "great restraint" in regard to this proposal.

Bose did not remain in Italy because he realised that Italy was a weak satellite of Germany and could not decide anything on its own.

On June 22, during Bose's stay in Italy, Germany attacked the Soviet Union. This event radically altered the entire alignment of forces in the world and made all the schemes hatched by Bose null and void. The Soviet Union became the leader of the anti-Hitler coalition and the centre of gravity for all progressive forces of the world. Bose had to be mindful of the fact that a wide strata of the Indian people deeply sympathised with the Soviet people and that any continuation of his collaboration with Germany would result in a sharp reduction in the number of his supporters in India. But he behaved as if nothing substantial had occurred and continued to bank on a victory of the "axis" countries. His position in Berlin can be characterised as very complex and contradictory: as a representative of a progressive liberation movement, he found himself in one and the same camp with the most reactionary force in the world. In this way he resolutely cut himself off from the world's progressive forces and found himself in tragic isolation.

Bose was aware that he was dealing with a very dangerous confederate and continued to work for the publication by the fascist powers of a declaration on India's right to independence, despite the fact that such a document gave only an ephemeral guarantee to India.

Bose raised the issue of publishing the declaration with the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs time and again, but failed to get any response. On August 15 he sent a lengthy and rather bold letter to Ribbentrop. The beginning of the war against Soviet Russia was regarded in India as an act of aggression, while Soviet-Anglo-American propaganda developed the idea of Germany's striving for world domination, especially in the East, he wrote. "We cannot hope to bring India over to the side of the axis, if the axis powers do not first declare their policy on India." If this does take place, "the March of the German troops towards the East will be regarded as the approach not of a friend, but of an enemy," he went on to say.

It was only on September 6 that Bose was informed on phone that Hitler was in no hurry to publish the declaration.

Bose and his supporters could broadcast radio propaganda for India but only under strict German control. In December the radio broadcasting department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany adopted the following decision: "Any censorship of the broadcasts should be done in a very subtle manner so that Mr. Bose does not notice anything."

At long last, on November 29 Ribbentrop, who was apparently expecting the quick downfall of Moscow, deemed it suitable to meet Bose. Ribbentrop expounded the same views as the Fuhrer on the rapid conversion of the Soviet Union into a German colony and on the inevitability of the collapse of the British empire, giving Bose over-free recommendations on the direction of radio propaganda. When Bose asked him to publish a statement on German intentions with regards to India, the Minister said that it was necessary to wait until the German troops had crossed the Caucasian range.

Bose very boldly drew the Minister's attention to the places in Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*, where the author had made humiliating references about Indians. He emphasised the immense importance of "enabling the Indian people to know what the Fuhrer thinks about India." Bose implied that Hitler should revise his previous pronouncements and make a benevolent statement addressed to the Indian people. Bose also asked him to arrange an audience with Hitler in order to have an opportunity to set forth his views, but Ribbentrop gave only evasive answers.

Of course, Bose was not at all satisfied with the meeting. His irritation openly manifested itself when Staatssekretär Keppler suggested that a report of this meeting be published in the press. Bose did not want to give Ribbentrop any opportunity to publicise himself with his assistance and said that it was better to publish such a report after he had met Hitler because it would have greater impact.

In its display of complete indifference to Bose's wishes and its denial of official recognition of the future status of India as an independent state, the Nazi leadership of Germany clearly demonstrated its attitude towards him, viewing him only as a toy in its hands. The atmosphere Bose operated in greatly changed in late 1941. After the heavy defeat of the Wehrmacht near Moscow and Rostov, Hitler no longer recalled the formation of an Afghanisthan group of troops. Moreover, on December 7, 1941, Japan joined the war against Britain and the USA and its troops quickly approached the borders of India.

Bose began to ponder over the futility of his stay in Germany which had not produced any concrete results. He was still making efforts to achieve the

publication of a declaration on the independence of India but in the new conditions had to deal with two sides because Japan began to play a weighty part in the resolution of the India issue and he consequently had to take this into consideration.

### THE RUIN OF HOPES

After Japan entered the war on December 7, 1941, the situation for Bose in Berlin became more complicated. He understood that Japan had also become party to the efforts to "solve" the Indian problem, and that this would inevitably intensify the contradictions between Germany and Japan over the matter. He knew something about it, but there were many things he did not know. For instance, he did not know that Woermann had prepared on his own a draft declaration on the Indian question, stating that the Indian people had the right to full and unrestricted freedom. But the declaration was couched in general terms and did not (and could not) contain any safeguards against German intervention in the economic, political and military affairs of a future India.

The draft declaration continued to be edited and specified without any consultations with Bose. Its new wording, which did not contain even the verbal promise of the recognition of the independence of India and its frontiers and a commitment not to intervene in its domestic affairs, was typewritten in large print especially for Hitler.

In the meantime, the Japanese proposed their own draft declaration. Early in May, however, Bose learnt that Hitler thought the moment "inopportune" for making the document public.

One should give Bose his due, for despite his ignorance of all the details of the talks between Germany and Japan on the declaration, he managed to spot a difference in the positions of Berlin and Tokyo, as the Japanese, for reasons of their own, believed that the declaration could be released. He made an attempt at playing on these contradictions and goad Berlin into doing what he wanted. In his memorandum, dated May 14, 1942, Ribbentrop referred to the view expressed by Bose, who had tried to convince German leaders that India would fall into the hands of Japan during its attack, and that, as he (Bose) did not trust Japan, he wanted Germany and Italy to come forward as guarantors of the freedom of India.

But Bose's attempt proved futile, as his opinion was ignored. He was learning a bitter experience in Germany. It was becoming even clearer to him that he was looking in the wrong place for friends of India and guarantors of Indian freedom. Bose was inevitably disturbed by the thought that he was being shamelessly used as a pawn in a game, where he himself wanted to play an active part. He thought about leaving Germany.

Many authors link his desire to leave Germany to the failure of the Nazi offensive on the Soviet-German front in 1942. As a matter of fact, however, this desire came even earlier owing to his disappointment at the stand taken by Berlin on the Indian question.

Woermann's memorandum of May 23, 1942, contains important information, which warrants such a conclusion. He wrote that Bose had come to him to justify his need to leave for the East, claiming that as a Japanese offensive on India was in the offing, he would like to be near its borders. Moreover, ethnic Indians in South-East Asia wanted to see him as their leader.

One should note that the declarations Bose was craving for was hardly worth the wait. Indeed, the governments of the Axis Powers ignored many treaties and agreements, and the document in question would have been just another scrap of paper to them.

Nevertheless, by the spring of 1942 important changes had taken place in Bose's status in Germany. On February 27, he made his first radio address to his fellow-countrymen, so that they all could learn of his whereabouts. He had to explain his stay in Nazi Germany and stated that he was no advocate of the policy of the three powers and that he cared only for India. Bose expressed his erroneous conviction that India would attain freedom only if Britain was defeated in the war. He consequently tried to persuade Indians to take the side of Germany and its allies.

The German press went into raptures over this, as they had finally been given the chance to fully capitalise on Bose's stay in Berlin. But, of course, none of them made any mention of the fact that several wordings of the draft declaration had already been buried in the archives of the Foreign Ministry.

(Continued on page 22)



# SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IN GERMANY (1941-1943)

(Continued from page 19)

In the spring of 1942 Hitler came to believe with a maniacal self-assurance that the offensive he had planned on the Soviet-German front would be crowned with success and that his tank divisions would cross the Caucasus in their drive towards the East. At the end of May, he thought the time had come for a meeting with Bose.

The meeting, laid out as a very important ceremony, was held at the Reichschancellery on May 29, 1942, with Ribbentrop, State Secretary W. Keppler, Minister Walter Hewel and the Fuhrer's personal interpreter P. Schmidt present. None of these persons joined in the conversation, as they were only listening respectfully to what Hitler uttered.

Hitler had prepared for the meeting by reading about India. He was also familiar with reports from Abwehr (Military Intelligence) agents on the domestic situation in India. This enabled him to speak of the present and the future of India with great self-assurance. A shorthand report of the conversation has remained intact in the archives, which enables one to analyse the unique event: a meeting between the Nazi dictator, a symbol of evil throughout the world, and the leader, popular at home, of a profoundly progressive liberation movement. Bose accorded to the meeting exaggerated importance, hoping not only to find out Hitler's intentions regarding India but also to influence him, if possible.

Paying tribute to the basic courtesies, Bose thanked Hitler for hospitality. Hitler then made one of his typical monologues on the situation in the world. Most interestingly, although he was supposed to talk about India, he devoted most of his speech to diverse aspects of the Soviet Union. In India, the Fuhrer said, people must not shut their eyes to the "Russian threat". He added that Jawaharlal Nehru's views of friendliness towards the Russians appeared "very dangerous" to him.

Hitler added in his characteristic, illogical manner that India had been offered the unique opportunity of discarding the British yoke and avoiding Russia's clutches, "because Russia will now once and for all be routed by Germany." Referring to the proposed declaration of Indian independence, he then expatiated on the thought that such declarations should be made "within the confines of what is possible." India was located far from Germany, and could be reached only by "passing across the corpse of Russia." He thus inadvertently acknowledged the role of the Soviet Union as a shield for India.

Hitler promised Bose that, should German forces approach Indian borders, he would invite him to set foot on Indian soil together with German troops with a view to launching a "revolution" there.

His statement that "one or two years will pass before Germany is able to exercise a direct influence on India" is worthy of note. The war against the USSR had weaned the Fuhrer off the habit of believing in "high-speed" military operations.

Bose did not hear anything inspiring and, disappointed, said boldly that some of Hitler's points in the *Mein Kampf* concerning the Indians "are being used by enemy propaganda." He suggested that Hitler should publicly "explain" his stand on the matter. But Hitler showed no desire at all to continue discussing this subject.

The conversation ended with a devastating statement for Bose to hear: Hitler said that the domestic reorganisation and restructuring of India with a view to achieving unity, whereafter the Indians would be granted self-government, would take 100-200 years. Hitler consequently not only refused to give up his former racist position on Indians, but even confirmed it in a very forceful manner.

The meeting spelled the complete ruin of Bose's hopes and his struggle over many months to secure at least a verbal guarantee of the independence of India by the Axis Powers. If before the meeting Bose still had some illusions about German assistance to India's struggle for freedom, then they were finally

*If before his meeting with Hitler Bose still had some illusions about German assistance to India's struggle for freedom, then they were finally dispelled. The audience with the Nazi dictator left him deeply disappointed and humiliated.*

dispelled. The audience with the Nazi dictator left him deeply disappointed and humiliated. It is hard to say whether Bose understood that Hitler had his own expansionist plans for India, but he must have realised that the Fuhrer had never even contemplated supporting the idea of an independent Indian state. And even Hitler's personal present to Bose: a diamond-studded gold cigarette-case failed to sweeten the bitter pill. Bose's profound disillusionment with his talk with Hitler was no secret for German intelligence: Walter Schellenberg wrote about it in his memoirs.

Not surprisingly, Bose did not want to tell his associates about the meeting. He also concealed from them the content of the talk and its futility, limiting himself to the remark that a logical discussion with Hitler for even a few minutes was not possible.

During his stay in Germany, Bose often found that his views on questions about India were completely ignored. For instance, in 1942, he learnt that preparations had been made in Berlin to set up a German-Indian Society. Bose immediately sent a letter to Keppler, writing: "What will be the character of this society—political, economic or cultural? Since there are no Indian members, would it not be more appropriate to name it the German Society for India?"

While making no concessions to Bose in matters concerning India's fate, the Hitlerite clique allowed him to conduct organisational work within clearly defined limits. He was permitted to rally around him a group of Indians, who had happened to stay in Germany for various reasons and to establish what was called the Free India Centre with a membership of 35 persons. The Centre was granted the status of a diplomatic mission and was lavishly supplied with funds. Its members took the oath of loyalty to Bose (but not to India). It was in Germany that Bose assumed the title of Netaji, which was directly analogous to the German word "Fuhrer" but fortified by the particle of respect: "ji". Although Bose strove to dissociate himself from the domestic policy of the Axis Powers, there are no doubts that he wanted to borrow some principles of state organisation. For instance, he expressed his support for a dictatorial form of government, believing that only this could ensure solutions to a variety of Indian problems. But history has shown that the democratic principles of organisation are more suitable for an independent India.

The effort to form what was referred to as the Indian Legion comprising Indian soldiers taken prisoner by German troops played an important role in Bose's activities in Germany. According to Bose, the Legion was to become the first military unit of the future army of an independent India.

Bose went to great pains to find the appropriate wording for the establishment of the Legion after protracted talks with German officials. In keeping with these terms, the Legion should not be part of any German military unit: it should be self-contained. Condition Number Four was most important. It stipulated that Indian soldiers "shall not be sent to any sector of the front for military operations, except India—for struggle against British armed forces." Bose particularly insisted that members of the Legion should never be sent to the Soviet-German front.

Although the German Command accepted these conditions, they complied on the surface, as they planned from the outset to use the Legion as they thought fit.

But the formation of the Legion proceeded too slowly: a mere 3,500 Indian POWs had joined after one year, that is, less than one-third of the total number. In the presence of German army officers, all legionaries took the oath of loyalty to Hitler as Supreme Commander of the German armed forces. True, the oath included words referring to the struggle for Indian freedom under Bose's leadership, but loyalty to the Fuhrer eventually prevailed over all restrictions on the use of legionaries as the German Command saw fit. This manifested itself after the departure of Bose, when the Legion was sent to Holland, where it protected a section of the coast against a possible Allied landing, which was at variance with Bose's conditions. Moreover, after five months of service in Holland, the Legion was transferred to Bordeaux, France, where it was assigned a coastal sector of defence off the river Gironde.

The last months of his stay in Germany were, undoubtedly, very distressing for Bose, as he had failed to secure anything in Berlin—even purely verbal recognition of India's right to independence. Why did he stay then in Germany for almost a whole year after making up his mind to leave and discussing this question with Hitler? Difficulties connected with travel over large distances during the war, which many authors have written about, played no role. In actual fact the Hitlerite clique still hoped to use Bose in some way, had the offensive on the Soviet-German front in the summer of 1942 ended in success for the Germans.

It was profoundly symbolic that Bose was permitted to leave Germany immediately after the Paulus surrender in Stalingrad, that is, when all of Hitler's plans for India had collapsed.

Bose left behind his associates, his wife and little daughter Anita whom he would never see again. Boarding a submarine in Kiel, he set out for the East, heading for new and grim tests in the struggle against Japanese authorities and his death in August 1945.





Arvind Gupta  
DS (Soviet Union)

No.WI/102/10/91-EE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

1 May 1991

My dear

*Ajay*

Thank you very much for your letter no.Mos/Pol/125/1/90 of 25th April 1991 and for the most interesting analysis of the voting pattern at the Russian CPD. Your analysis seems to confirm what Yeltsin has been saying for some time that at the grassroot level, the radicals/democrats have not been able to capture the apparat and that it still remains in the control of the conservatives.

It is observed that of the five key issues, only one namely, to give the floor at the CPD to a representative of the Kuzbass miners was adopted and the four others dealing with such issues as control over militarised formations, RSFSR President, de-partisation of the State institutions, formation of a coalition Union Government were not adopted thereby, indicating the dominance, though marginal, of the non-radicals. And yet, at the end of the Congress, Boris Yeltsin emerged stronger with obvious signs of a split within the ranks of the conservatives. I shall be grateful if you could kindly throw some light on the sudden turn-around that took place at the end of the Congress. Why did the Russian CP ranks split at the last moment?

With Regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Arvind Gupta*

(Arvind Gupta)

Shri Ajay Bisaria  
Second Secretary (Pol), N60  
Embassy of India,  
Moscow.

*Recd today in N60*

*11/7/91*

*May pl see*

*8/5/91*

*The answer is obvious for  
the Q is wrongly asked.*

*CCP*

*BS  
8/5*

*MLA*

*12/5*

*5/5/91*

*20/5*





Arvind Gupta  
DS (Soviet Union)

No.WI/411/5/90-EE

SECRET

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

12 April 1991

Dear Minister,

..... This is with reference to your letter no.MOS/POL/125/190 of 21st December 1990. I am enclosing herewith for records the following.:

- i) A note recorded in the Division titled "Did Subhash Chandra Bose go to the Soviet Union during or after the Second World War?".
- ii) Article in two parts in December 1990 and January 1991 issues of Soviet Land by Prof. A. Raikov.
- iii) Dwijendra Nandi, "Netaji's Great Escapade: A Puzzling Aspect", Onlooker, April 15, 1991.

Warm Regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Arvind Gupta)

Shri R.L. Narayan  
Minister (Political),  
Embassy of India,  
Moscow.

Copy to Smt. Primrose Sharma, Dir (JKN), MEA, New Delhi.

(Arvind Gupta)  
DS (Soviet Union)

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(EUROPE EAST DIVISION)DID SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE GO TO THE SOVIET UNION  
DURING OR AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR ?

In India, there is a school of opinion, particularly amongst Netaji's supporters that Netaji did not die in the plane crash on August 17, 1945 and that he actually escaped to USSR where he lived for many years. Similarly, it is widely believed that Netaji transited through USSR in March 1941 on way to Berlin from Kabul. Government of India has been asked time and again by prominent Indian personalities to seek the help of the Soviets in clarifying with the help of their archives about Netaji's possible sojourn in the Soviet Union during and after the II Second War. Questions have been raised in the Parliament time-and-again on this issue.

## PROFESSOR SAMAR GUHA'S LETTERS

On 12th May 1990, Prof. Samar Guha wrote to the then External Affairs Minister Shri Gujral expressing his belief that the top secret classified documents on the reports of air crash at Taipei on 17th August 1945 in which Netaji allegedly died are lying in the archives of governments of USSR, UK, Japan and USA. He requested Government's help to clarify the mystery of Netaji's death. He also made a fervent appeal to Gorbachev in a letter dated 5th November 1988 asking him to "reveal all facts" about Netaji's presence in USSR supposedly till 1961. The reasons for his belief that Netaji escaped to Soviet Union were broadly as follows.:

- i) A secret report sent to the British Viceroy in India by British intelligence allegedly stated that Nehru had received a letter from Bose that he was in Russia.
- ii) Another secret report of the British Government allegedly said that the Russian Ambassador in Kabul had informed the Governor of the Afghan province Khost that Bose was among many Congress refugees then in Moscow. Further, the Russian Vice-Consul General in Teheran, Mr. Marodoff disclosed in 1946 that Bose was in Russia.
- iii) One B.A. Zerobin, a German Jew who was the Deputy Chief of a machine-building plant at Gorlovka near Donetsk apparently had known Netaji from his days in Germany and met him in a concentration camp in Soviet Union and had a brief conversation with him.

Prof. Samar Guha wanted Gorbachev to investigate into these. No reply was received from Gorbachev.

Earlier, in November 1973, Prof. Samar Guha had also submitted a letter to Brezhnev during his visit to India seeking information about Netaji's presence in Russia. No reply was received.

## YURLOVA'S REMARKS ABOUT NETAJI

The entire issue was re-opened in 1990 by Prof. Samar Guha in a reaction to reported remarks of Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies made on 4th March 1990 in Calcutta to the effect that the Soviet Government possessed top secret documents on Subhash Chandra Bose.

## DEMARCHE TO THE SOVIET FOREIGN OFFICE

In June 1990, our Mission in Moscow addressed a note verbale



to the Soviet Foreign Office regarding documents on Subhash Chandra Bose supposedly in the custody of the Soviet Government. The Soviet Foreign Office handed over some documents to our Mission. 168

#### THE DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET ARCHIVES

The gist of the Soviet documents pertaining to Netaji and handed over to our Mission is as follows.:

##### DOCUMENT No.1 - BIOGRAPHY DATED 5.2.1941 BY GULYAEV KOZLOV

In this biographical article Kozlov mentions that Netaji made two attempts in 1940 and 1941 to go to the Soviet Union.:

"In the autumn of 1940 Bose approached Achar Singh with the request to organise entry into USSR and for this he gave him 200 rupees but he could not succeed to cross over as on the eve of the appointed day of departure he was arrested. Also known is a second attempt by Bose to establish contacts with USSR. Shankar Lal who requested in 1940 permission to go USSR was one of the close aides of Bose who undoubtedly went to USSR on latter's request.

Bose also explained to Achar Singh his intentions to go to USSR to request Comrade Stalin for weapons and support in his struggle of Indian people against British imperialism".

##### DOCUMENT No.2 - RECORD OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE IN AFGHANISTAN, V.S. KOZLOV AND THE SECRETARY OF THE GERMAN MISSION, SCHMIDT ON 15th MARCH 1941

This document throws some light on Netaji's transit through USSR. Schmidt told Kozlov that Netaji would be used by Germans for propaganda against the British domination in India. It is interesting that Schmidt came to the Soviet Embassy "to obtain a visa for an Italian citizen Orlando Mazotta". Orlando Mazotta was the name under which Netaji left Kabul for Berlin via Moscow on March 18, 1941. Thus the document confirms that Netaji did obtain a visa under a fake name to travel through USSR.

(That Netaji left Kabul for USSR in March 1941 and spent a night in Moscow before flying to Berlin is mentioned in many Soviet articles. Prof. A. Raikov in his article "Subhash Chandra Bose' Escape in January 1941" in Soviet Land, December 1990 writes that "Bose officially crossed the Soviet border and arrived in Moscow by rail" after leaving Kabul in March 1941. He also mentions that it was the Germans who arranged with the Soviets for Netaji's travel to Berlin via USSR. The German Ambassador in Moscow in a telegram to Berlin on March 3 said: "The Commissar for Foreign Affairs has informed that the Soviet Government is ready to give a visa to Bose to go to Germany through Russia", writes Raikov.)

##### DOCUMENT No.3 - BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE (UNDATED) BY Yu. AMIANOV AND R. PARADIZOVA OF CENTRAL PARTYARCHIVES OF THE INSTITUTE OF MARXISIM-LENINISM UNDER CC, CPSU

The document inter-alia says "according to information filed by the Reuter correspondent in Delhi on 11th October 1946, Bose died in August 1945 in a plane crash going from Singapore to Tokyo". Thus, the Soviets accepted the reports about Netaji's death in a plane crash but were careful to cite foreign sources. It is interesting that in this biographical sketch no mention is made unlike in Document No.1 of Netaji's attempts to go to USSR in 1940 and 1941.

##### DOCUMENT No.4 - THE REVIEW OF INDIAN PRESS OF 23rd FEBRUARY PREPARED BY THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN AFGHANISTAN ON 1 MARCH 1941

It refers to Gandhi-Bose differences and Netaji's proposal to Gandhi to form a united front with the participation of Forward Bloc in Gandhiji's campaign for satyagraha. There is